VOLUME XLII NO. 1

The Catholic Historical Review

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The Catholic Historical Review

Vol. XLII APRIL, 1956 No. 1

THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW—FORTY YEARS

By

Carl Wittke*

Forty years have passed since the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW made its bow to the historical profession in April, 1915. In that time the journal has carried 468 articles, 218 items of "miscellany" averaging ten pages in length; shorter notes and comments; hundreds of book reviews; and from 1921 to 1928 inclusive, a section entitled "Chronicles." Bishop Thomas J. Shahan, professor of church history and Rector of the Catholic University of America, served as editor-in-chief from 1915 to 1929, although the late Monsignor Peter Guilday was the driving force behind the REVIEW from its inception, and succeeded to the title of chief editor in 1929. Dr. John Tracy Ellis, the present managing editor, has served in that capacity practically since 1941, although Guilday continued to hold the title of editor-in-chief during his prolonged and fatal illness from 1941 to 1947. With one exception, the board of editors have been members of the faculty of the Catholic University of America, and all have been priests, with the exception of Charles H. McCarthy, Leo J. Stock, Richard J. Purcell, and Martin R. P. McGuire. Of the sixteen advisory editors of the past forty years, six have been priests. The remainder were recruited from the history faculties of Queens College, Georgetown University, Saint Louis University, Loyola of

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* The editors of the REVIEW take this opportunity to thank Dr. Wittke, Dean of the Graduate School of Western Reserve University and distinguished historian of American immigration, for his generous response to their request to have the first forty years of the journal surveyed by an outsider. Dean Wittke's latest work is *The Irish in America* (Baton Rouge, 1956).

Chicago, Seton Hall, the Catholic University of America, and the Archives Department of Canada.

Cardinal Gibbons hailed the launching of the REVIEW in 1915 with a foreword in which he expressed his pleasure that the venture originated at the Catholic University of America, and would help "proclaim the worth and greatness of this noble institution." In an article entitled "The Spirit of the *Catholic Historical Review*," Bishop Shahan deplored the tendency to reduce all human action "to terms of physical and material science" and called for theologians, thoroughly trained in historical scholarship, who could meet their opponents "on the field of history," and defend the thesis "that God rules over the affairs of mankind and disposes all things according to His own purposes." He argued that the historian has a sacred obligation to seek the truth and to explain its meaning, and he regretted that many historians were not trained in a philosophy which "admits the supernatural." He defined the function of the American Catholic historian as saving "the science of history from extravagant speculation and . . . exploitation in the interest of untried theories," and rescuing from oblivion "the names and deeds of those who . . . planted the faith in the new world."

The first six volumes of the REVIEW were concerned almost exclusively with articles on the history of the Church in America. Thereafter, the journal devoted more space to Catholicism in Europe, and, to a lesser degree, the rest of the world. Charles H. McCarthy's article in Volume I took sharp issue with Charles Kendall Adams' work on Columbus. Paul J. Foik, librarian of the University of Notre Dame, contributed an important article on early Catholic journalism in the United States, and Frederick J. Zwierlein began a series with an article on the Diocese of Rochester, which ultimately developed into his two-volume work on Bishop McQuaid. John C. Fitzpatrick of the Library of Congress wrote on "The Preservation of Ecclesiastical Documents," and Waldo G. Leland, of the American Historical Association, pleaded for the collection, preservation, and publication of source materials in Catholic history. A section dealing with "Documents" was begun with Volume I, and the book reviews, mostly unsigned, dealt with Catholic books primarily. Before the end of the year, however, the reviews took note of the work of such outstanding American non-Catholic historians as Fish, Beard, Dunning, Cheyney, and many others. In the section on "Notes and Comments," significant articles from other historical journals were called to the attention of the reader, and Catholic educators were urged to use the *History Teacher's Magazine.* Additional items dealt with bibliography, a rebuke to Catholic historians for failure to attend the recent annual meeting of the American Historical Association, and an editorial note pleading for higher standards of scholarship and recognizing that "many things handed down as historic fact about the Church in America in Catholic circles are based on romance and misconception" (I, 476).

By the end of the first year the new REVIEW was well on its way. It required years of further editorial experience and changes before the present format and standards of the journal were perfected, and to establish the rules of editorial and bibliographical techniques. As late as 1925, the practice with reference to footnotes and bibliography and book reviews had not yet been completely standardized.

The fundamental question to be asked in connection with any new journal is—why was it established? Obviously, one good reason is that there are not enough historical journals to carry all the contributions of merit in the field. Another is that religious forces in the building of the United States have been neglected by historians, although our religious heritage has had an important functional significance in our history, and needs to be objectively evaluated. The separation of Church and State has been a fundamental concept of the American constitutional system, but this should not divert attention from the fact that religion and the life of the state are in many ways most vitally interrelated. To try to estimate the share of the Church in maintaining peace, order, and public morality, in establishing respect for government, and in preserving the many social controls which have been developed over the years, would be trying to measure forces which are no less important because at first glance they may seem to be somewhat intangible. Leland believed that American Catholics "have done much more for their history than . . . Protestant denominations" (II, 390), but maintained that there was a real place for a special journal devoted to this area of study.

Still another reason for launching the new enterprise undoubtedly was a desire to add to the intellectual reputation and stature of American Catholicism, to promote sounder scholarship, and to help destroy what leading American Catholics have termed "the ghetto mentality" of inferiority and isolation prevalent for a long time among so many of their fellow religionists. The causes of this sense of cultural inferiority, and the consequent need to band together for mutual support and sympathy, may be found in the early experiences of Catholics in America; the fact that for a long time the Church was an immigrant church, lacking a substantial middle class; and the anti-Catholic bigotry which has marked several periods in our history. In comparison with the intellectual activities of leading European Catholics, American Catholic historians in earlier years revealed what the REVIEW characterized in 1918 as "a lack of training," which "gives an ephemeral character to most of the work done by Catholic writers of history," who lacked the kind of intellectual discipline to be acquired only in "the historical laboratory" (IV, 380). Five years later Guilday, who was thoroughly trained in the field, pointed out that only a few American Catholic historians were "producing works of value." Another able Catholic historian (Charles G. Hebermann) observed that "many of our Catholic histories read partly like the pages of a ledger and partly like catalogues of bishops and priests." Although American Catholics rapidly acquired wealth, numbers, influence, and strength of organization, many of their leaders still contend that their intellectual prestige has not risen to a degree commensurate with their material progress.

History is a unique discipline. Its votaries are forced to select and to interpret what they find, and to exercise a rigidly trained imagination to reconstruct scenes and events long past. In the words of Trevelyan, the historian tries his best to cope with reality and fact, but the image of truth must always be reflected through the prism of his own finite mind. In this sense history falls just short of being a science, and remains one of the humanities and a creative art. In a way that is always, to a considerable degree, personal to him every writer of history recreates the past by subjecting it to certain norms of judgment and value. These inevitably involve to some degree the historian's philosophy of life, and, in many cases, his theology. Moreover, history, as Becker and Beard insisted, is constantly being re-written in terms of present-day interest, experience, and values. Lord Acton pointed out long ago that the only completely detached student is a dead one, because by that time he would no longer care.

If this is true of all historical scholarship, it is particularly true when history deals with theology and religion. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the REVIEW, especially in its earlier years, becoming involved in discussions of what is "Catholic history," and in what sense we may speak of a "Catholic historian." Obviously, there can be only two kinds of history, good and bad, and the basis of comparison is the verifiable amount of truth they contain and the method and style of presentation. Many Catholic writers have argued that any other kind of history would be both theologically and philosophically unsound. There is no special kind of Catholic historiography, although, perhaps, a Christian scholar should be more humble, and, therefore, more eager to become a more competent scholar.

To quote Lord Acton once more, it is the duty of historians "to suffer no man and no cause to escape the undying penalty which history has the power to inflict on wrong." When he opened the Vatican Archives in 1883 Pope Leo XIII defined the canons of sound historical scholarship in words that have been often quoted, "No effort should be spared to refute inventions and falsehoods; and the writers must always bear this rule in mind: that the first law of history is, not to dare to utter falsehood; the second, not to fear to speak the truth; and moreover, no room must be left for suspicion of partiality or prejudice."

The papal statement poses the problem common to all historical scholars, and they have dealt with it with varying degrees of success and forthrightness, whatever their religion. Ludwig von Pastor, son of a Protestant father and a Catholic mother, wrote a history of the popes which won him the title of "model Catholic historian." Yet, in his own words, he found no need to hide the Catholic past "behind the cassocks of ecclesiastics." Ranke's *History of the Popes,* on the other hand, was expressly forbidden by the Church, although an article in the REVIEW suggests that permission to use it will be "readily granted to those who have a good reason to ask for it" (V [N.S.], 285). The author of that comment admitted that there were ugly as well as noble phases in the history of the Church, primarily because mortals fail to live up to its teachings. John A. Ryan's article on "The Attitude of the Church toward Freedom of Speech," although primarily concerned with the larger issues involved, touched upon this problem also (VIII [N.S.], April 1928).

Charles H. McCarthy's presidential address before the American Catholic Historical Association in 1924 was concerned with "stresses and omissions" in the writing of American history (IV [N.S.], 27-46). Thirteen years later, in another presidential address, entitled "The Place of History in Catholic Education," Herbert C. F. Bell characterized the tendency to study church history in a vacuum as "a palpable absurdity"; pleaded for more and better scholarship among Catholics; recommended a better understanding of the Church's adversaries; and insisted that "no man ranked by the Church as a great heretic has failed to show some elements of greatness" [XXIII (January 1938)]. James J. Walsh, a Catholic leader in medicine, in another contribution to the REVIEW on "The Church and Cures," advised "an ultra-conservative position with regard to healing of any and all kinds," including "cures, healing shrines and health restoring by spiritual means" [V (N.S.), April 1925].

On several occasions, writers in the REVIEW have urged the preparation of a "Catholic List of Historical Publications." A professor of history at St. Ignatius College, Cleveland, maintained that such a list should include "such works of non-Catholics as contain practically no errors," and exclude all works "likely to endanger the faith" of the reader. He favored including all Catholic authors, good or bad, however, because "they are correct in regard to Faith and Morals" [IV, 76-79]. A short article in the issue of January, 1937, urging that history be divorced "from the entanglements of philanthropy, social service, psychology and economics," demanded that the discipline be restored to its proper place as a record of man's "advance towards God," and that it be taught "as a kind of contemplation," "in the light of divine love and divine providence."

A somewhat similar article by John M. Cooper, published in 1925, which included an uncompromising statement of Catholic theology, continued with the statement that students must be trained to understand "that the Church is not a structure hanging up in the clouds," with a membership "drawn from the angelic hosts." An essay on "Catholic Truth and Historical Truth" [VI (October 1920)] by a London cleric warned historians against "indiscreet zeal for the interests of doctrinal orthodoxy"; but condoned, without fully approving, the occasional "suppression and withholding of facts," for the sake of religion, charity, "reverence for those in authority," "in the interest of justice and historical truth," and to "vindicate the authority of the Church and the truth of Catholic doctrine." The article concluded with the categorical assertion that there is no discrepancy between Catholic and historical truth. The following year, a Jesuit historian, writing in the REVIEW, pleaded for a return to the sources; he characterized most non-Catholic historians as honest seekers after truth, and concluded that Catholic historians could not properly pose "as the sole authority or . . . supreme court of Catholic historical sources."

Discussions of this nature continued to appear in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW for a number of years. They point up the problems that arise when history becomes involved with dogma and theology. The questions they raise need not be developed further here, and many obviously involve fundamental problems in philosophy, as well as historical scholarship. Apparently, for a number of scholars, the issues poses something of a dilemma from which they have not been completely able to extricate themselves, although discussions of this basic problem occur less frequently in the later volumes of the REVIEW.

With the passing years the REVIEW steadily expanded its scope of interest. The American Catholic Historical Association was organized in Cleveland in 1919, at the time of the annual convention of the American Historical Association. J. Franklin Jameson, the Nestor of that Association, was in the audience when the new organization was launched, gave it his blessing and wise counsel, and became its only honorary member. Once again, Peter Guilday was the driving force which brought the new organization to life. The Association made the REVIEW its official organ, and beginning with 1921, Volume VII, the journal widened its scope of interest to include the history of the Church throughout the world. Volume XVIII, e.g., was devoted almost entirely to the Church in the contemporary world while Volume XXVI dealt with Latin America.

After twenty-five years the Association's membership list had grown to only 729. During this period, about fifty articles, dealing with the American Church, and drawn from papers read at the Association's annual meetings, found their way into the REVIEW. Forty-six dealt with the Church in modern European countries; twenty-six with the mediaeval Church; twelve with Latin America. Thirty-nine were concerned with historical methods, and nineteen with the philosophy of history and matters of interpretation. In 1933 the Association published its first volume of documents—*United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches, 1848-1868,* ably edited by Leo F. Stock. The policy of accepting papers, read at Association meetings, practically automatically for publication in the REVIEW, came to an end in 1941, largely because too many were of inferior quality. Since that time they have been accepted only if the editorial staff of the REVIEW regarded them as of superior merit.

A random sampling of the REVIEW reveals an impressive and steadily broadening interest in the kind of historical articles considered worthy of publication. There is a variety of contributions dealing with the Church history of Ireland and England; the continent of Europe, including Poland and Russia; Canada and Latin America; and the Philippines. Many of the articles deal with topics of equal interest to Catholic and non-Catholic historians, such as a study of the domestic economy of the early English Dominicans; Lamennais' career in France; the gildsman of Toulouse; two articles, wholly in French, dealing with Byzantine and French Church history, and a third on "La paroisse et l'habitant canadien sous le regime français." William R. Riddell of Canada contributed a lead article in 1928 on the status of Catholicism in the Dominion. Robert H. Lord, a convert who became a priest, wrote on mediaeval parliaments. Articles on the history of Ireland were popular, but the number dealing with the Middle Ages is less than one might expect, in view of recent scholarship concerned with rehabilitating the period, and the dominant role of the Church in this stage of the history of the western world. Francis J. Tschan discussed the reasons for the decadence of Spain; Parker T. Moon wrote on the social Catholic movement in the France of the Third Republic, and Carlton H. J. Hayes in 1932 reviewed "The Significance of the Reformation in the Light of Contemporary Scholarship." Both Moon and Hayes were converts. There were other articles about Erasmus, Grotius, Renan, a number of popes and saints, and dealing with many other topics of special importance to church historians.

The same expansion of interest occurred in the field of United States history, originally, and still, the REVIEW's major concern. The REVIEW published much of the late Gilbert J. Garraghan's material on the American West and the role of France in early Mid-America; an article by the Dominion archivist on Catholic historical sources in the Canadian archives; Professor John J. Meng's "French Diplomacy in Philadelphia, 1778-1779," a lead article by Edmund C. Burnett on the Continental Congress; Howard R. Marraro's excellent studies in the Italian-American field; Leo F. Stock's article on "Catholic Participation in the Diplomacy of the Southern Confederacy," and Gaillard Hunt's controversial essay on the possible relation of Cardinal Bellarmine's works to the Virginia Declaration of Rights.

The great majority of contributors to the REVIEW have been Catholics, although the journal is open to non-Catholic historians also. Beginning with Volume II more than thirty non-Catholics have published articles in the REVIEW, and others have contributed book reviews. Because of a natural interest in Pacific Coast history the editors welcomed contributions by Herbert E. Bolton, Charles E. Chapman, and Herbert I. Priestley of the California group of Spanish-American historians. Lawrence M. Larson published an article on the Church in Greenland; Arthur S. Aiton considered the Church-State issue in Latin America; Kenneth Scott Latourette wrote on the Christian missionary movement; Ray A. Billington contributed an excellent article on "Maria Monk and Her Influence"; and Perry Miller another on "The Puritan Theory of the Sacraments in Seventeenth Century New England."

The REVIEW contains considerable material on phases of United States history which are of equal importance to Catholics and non-Catholics. By way of illustration, attention may be directed to articles which throw light on such American issues as the controversies over "trusteeism," "Americanism," and "Cahenslyism"; the school question in politics; the role of Catholic chaplains in the wars of the United States; and the rise of religious orders and their services to their communities. Billington's bibliography of anti-Catholc propaganda in the United States to 1860 is invaluable. The students of immigration will find articles on Know-Nothingism and the A. P. A. Noteworthy articles of general interest include Henry J. Browne's critical study of Archbishop Hughes' attitude toward western colonization; Sister Mary Evangela Hawthorne's account of Bishop Spalding's work on the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission; John T. Farrell's article on "Archbishop Ireland and Manifest Destiny"; Harry J. Siever's "The Catholic Indian School Question and the Presidential Election of 1892"; and an edition of letters by Dorothy G. Wayman, in July, 1954, which throws light on Theodore Roosevelt's unsuccessful maneuvering to get a cardinal's hat for Archbishop John Ireland. For students interested in American journalism, Paul J. Foik has a contribution on early Irish-American papers, and there is a partial list of the Catholic press in the United States in Volume IV; Thomas F. Meehan has written a "Catholic Literary History of New York, 1800-1840," and Marraro an informative article on "Rome and the Catholic Church in Eighteenth Century American Magazines." Material of this kind is important to all teachers and scholars in the field of general United States history.

A section of the REVIEW, entitled "Documents," has been devoted to source material from the field of church history. The selections cover a wide range from sources for local parishes and the lives of humble priests, to letters and journals of men of distinction, and correspondence between prelates and governments. In 1920 Guilday issued a guide to materials in American Church history in the archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster, 1675-1798, and again and again the REVIEW pleaded for a comprehensive and scientific bibliography, and for a "modern history of the American Church." When the first volume of Jefferson Papers appeared, the editor reiterated his plea for "critically edited compilations of official documents and . . . the most important private papers of clerical and lay leaders."

A section entitled "Miscellany" was concerned with similar material in the later years of the REVIEW. The miscellany in the issue of October, 1935, e.g., was devoted to a long and favorable discussion of Toynbee's philosophy of history. In 1938 John E. Sexton published material in this section on the religious policy of Massachusetts toward the Indians from 1760 to 1769; in 1944 thirty-eight pages were devoted to Bishop Spalding's student letters; and in 1952, Paul Knaplund edited and published some Acton letters. Volume XXXI (January, 1946) contains valuable articles on Catholic archives in the United States.

The section of the REVIEW known as "Notes and Comments" has been developed into one of the most interesting parts of the journal, at least for professional historians. Here one finds a constantly expanding coverage of activities in the whole historical field dealing with books, periodicals, important gatherings, obituaries, and personal notes. The section is not limited to Catholic history, and seeks to call attention to noteworthy articles in current periodicals and to the activities of other historical societies.

The book reviews of an historical journal often are more promptly read by scholars than the longer articles at the beginning of the magazine. Book reviewing remains an art, which only some acquire. One finds in all historical journals too many instances when the reviewer seizes the occasion to ride his hobby, air his erudition, and give expression to his prejudices, rather than give the reader a clear summary of what the book is really about. Moreover, once a book has been assigned to a reviewer, the editor is virtually obligated to print what he gets for publication. In this respect, the editors of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW have undoubtedly had the same problem as their colleagues who direct the more secular journals. Book reviews, like articles, vary greatly in merit, but sometimes they give the reader a better taste of the special flavor of an historical journal than the more major articles.

First of all, in the case of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW it is significant to call attention to a steady evolution in the number and character of books reviewed; an increase in the number of books by non-Catholic authors, and in books published outside the United States; a growing practice to have signed reviews; and a slow growth in the number of non-Catholic reviewers. It is to be expected that a religious journal should pay major attention to books on religion, the lives of religious leaders, the history of religious bodies, Catholic, Protestant, and Jew. The REVIEW, e.g., has been especially interested in books which deal with Puritanism here and in England. A nine-page review of Preserved Smith's *The Age of Reformation* pointed out numerous differences about facts and interpretations, but recognized the work as a real contribution, "careful, scholarly and thought-provoking" [I (N.S.), October, 1921].

During the 1920's the REVIEW carried appraisals of books on a wide variety of subjects not directly related to religious topics, by J. T. Adams, Dunning, Cheyney, Bradford, Lindsay Rogers, Golder, Alvord, Buck, McIlwain, U. B. Phillips, Bemis, Haskins, Knaplund, Lunt, Emerton, Morison, Beard, Schlesinger, and many others who belong to the galaxy of modern American historical scholarship. The books reviewed ranged all the way from ancient and Jewish history to Beard's *America in Midpassage;* Carter's *Territorial Papers of the United States;* McIlwain's studies in political theory; Aptheker's *American Negro Slave Revolts;* the *Holmes-Pollock Letters;* and Sidney Warren's study of free thought in America from 1860 to 1914. Inter-mixed with such appraisals of significant historical literature were reviews of Mother Mary Potter's *The Brides of Christ,* and notice of still another edition of the apparently imperishable *Le voyage de Monsieur Perichon.*

That Catholic reviewers would measure and comment upon the amount of attention given to Catholicism and to the Church in works by non-Catholic historians, and discourse occasionally on the author's attitude on matters of theology and dogma, was to be expected. Relatively few, however, have specifically contended that the nature and function of the papacy and the Church are such that they cannot be judged by "purely human criteria and motives which . . . apply to secular rulers" [XXVII, 100]. Solon J. Buck's *Illinois in 1818* was criticized for devoting too little space to Catholic influence, but the author was never charged with "intentional bias." Occasionally, as theological controversy was aroused, reviewers referred to "the unconscious arrogance found in Protestant authors" [XXXII, 439], or indulged in such unseemly language about a Protestant denomination as the reference to Universalists as "Universalist down quilts" [XXVI, 379]. Such unrestrained and intemperate language is as inappropriate in a Catholic journal as the unfair tactics and gratuitous comments of some non-Catholics, against which Catholic writers have lodged justifiable protests. By way of contrast, one may point to a reviewer from the Marist Seminary in Washington who calmly suggested that since scholars hold viewpoints as opposed as those of Catholicism and liberal Protestantism, it is folly to expect them to "interpret history in the same light or choose among a multitude of facts the same facts for special notice" [XXI, 198]. Reviews written with invective, in whatever journal they appear, are frequently the ear-mark of a pseudo-scholar, and to brand an author according to his religious or philosophical position by no means disposes of his book.

Comments of this nature do not preclude forthright reviewing. For example, a volume on *The Scotch-Irish,* reviewed in January, 1937, was properly disposed of with the deserved comment that it was "amateurish, not to say infantile." To add that it was a "messy rehash of the Protestant tradition" added little to one's knowledge of the book. Croce's treatment of the Catholic Church was properly characterized as "aloof, cold, but never insulting." The reaction of Fulton J. Sheen to Harry Elmer Barnes' *The Twilight of Christianity* was not unexpected; and Fred M. Fling's tactless selection of the miracle at the wedding of Cana, to illustrate his principles of historical criticism, quite naturally impressed the reviewer as blasphemous, and provoked him to go on to say that "the Gospels are not open to the historical critic" [VI, 525-27]. A review of Sellery and Krey's *Medieval Foundations of Western Civilization,* while calling attention to errors from the viewpoint of Catholicism, nevertheless, commended the authors for a genuine effort to deal objectively with the mediaeval Church.

The number of reviews which in recent years avoid religious disputation, and deal with critical, scholarly analysis, seems to be increasing. The reviews of the late Richard J. Purcell, e.g., were always scholarly, objective, and in good temper. Charles P. Bruehl's review of a book on the Marxian interpretation of history emphasized the inadequacy of the economic theory of Marx as the ultimate key to history, but recognized that the father of modern communism had stimulated "social research" and started "a happy reaction to other equally arbitrary constructions of history." Frank Tannenbaum's book on Mexico, which took sharp issue with the record of the Church in that country, was reviewed by a prominent official of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, who considered his criticisms fully justified. Merle Curti's *The Growth of American Thought,* although "written entirely from the rationalistic viewpoint," was, nevertheless, described as a very "useful, complete and original summary." Dr. Walsh had nothing but the highest praise for Thorndyke's *History of Magic and Experimental Science,* and Theodore Maynard, although disagreeing fundamentally with Preserved Smith's thesis that "not faith but doubt has liberated and humanized the modern world," spoke favorably of his *History of Modern Culture,* and considered the author both "moderate and just." The reviewer of Latourette's *History of Christianity* correctly described the author as "unmistakably Protestant," . . . "but controlled by voluminous reading and . . . careful weighing of the evidence," and "with a kindly outlook on life." Ellis regarded Albert Post's *Popular Freethought in America* an excellent addition to historical literature on American public opinion, and wrote a painstaking, thirty-one page review article of Canon Stokes' three-volume *Church and State in the United States* in which he took issue on many points, without losing the scholar's even temper and appreciation for the author's "general fairness."

The REVIEW has not had one standard of appraisal for books by Catholic authors, and another for the work of non-Catholics. Books by fellow religionists have been roughly handled on many occasions in the REVIEW. In its first volume, there was a sharp review of an American history text for use in Catholic schools, in which the reviewer pointed out scores of factual errors. In a ten-page appraisal in Volume XXVIII of Theodore Maynard's *The Story of American Catholicism,* the reviewer expressed his irritation with the author's frequent *obiter dicta;* questioned many of his conclusions; criticized his errors and "uncritical methods" and poor documentation, and dismissed as a silly legend the claim that Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence from Bellarmine's work. A review of Father Theodore Roemer's history of the Church in the United States in Volume XXXVI was equally sharp, and stressed not only errors of fact and organization, but the "colorings of the author's own mind"; his excessively "ultramontane tone," and "the emphasis on a peculiar American loyalty to the Holy See which is taken to mean the omniscience of Roman officialdom." Several reviewers took issue with Michael J. O'Brien, the indefatigable historiographer of the American Irish Historical Society, and criticized his work as the uncritically filiopietistic product of a sincere genealogist and antiquarian, but not a trained historian. A work on *Freemasonry and the Anti-Christian Movement* by a Jesuit was criticized as "frankly polemic," and containing "statements that seem to go beyond the testimony adduced." Hilaire Belloc's *History of England* was charged with errors of both fact and interpretation. A *Life of Washington,* written by a priest and published by Longmans Green in 1915 received, perhaps, the most savage review. It was dismissed as "unworthy of a serious review," "grotesquely puerile in style and unequalled in ignorance." The author was advised to make this his last book [III, 351].

This is the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, insofar as an article so limited can do justice to a journal which now covers a span of two score years, and as it looks to a non-Catholic historian who has used it on many occasions to good advantage. During these forty years the REVIEW has shown a steady growth in quality and in the scope of its interest. It has reviewed significant books which have been overlooked by older and better known journals. It has gradually attained a stature comparable in its field with such journals as the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* of Louvain, the *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France,* and several German and Austrian publications, although it differs from them in many respects and has developed an identity all its own. It has stimulated interest in, and respect for, higher standards of American Catholic historical scholarship, and deserves a larger circulation and greater support than it has. It is an important historical journal which all historians, and especially those working in the special fields of cultural, intellectual, and religious history, cannot afford to ignore.

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THE BLAINE AMENDMENT OF 1875: PRIVATE MOTIVES FOR POLITICAL ACTION

By

Sister Marie Carolyn Klinkhamer*

The first public bill offered in the House of Representatives as the Forty-fourth Congress convened in December, 1875, was a joint resolution sponsored by James G. Blaine. The bill called for a constitutional amendment which would prevent any state from making "any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof"; the states would be further restricted in the conduct of their internal affairs, for "no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect," and the states would be enjoined from dividing such money or property among religious sects or denominations.[1]

The debate touched off by Blaine's proposal was conducted during the winter of 1875-1876, and more particularly during the late summer following. Its repercussions were felt in state and national elections, in newspaper campaigns, and in the lives of many of Blaine's associates. Yet the initial appearance of his bill must have seemed to most of his contemporaries to be the logical sequel to the presidential message of Ulysses S. Grant, delivered to a joint session of Congress just one week earlier than the proposal of the amendment. The main body of speculation was probably reserved for the question of the identity of the congressman who would implement the presidential suggestion. Blaine's victory over other contenders for this honor was due to his pre-eminence in Congress, where he had been Speaker of the House for eight years, and to his remarkably sagacious and ambitious grasp of every political opportunity.[2]

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[1] *Congressional Record,* 44th Congress, 1st session, IV^1, 205, December 14, 1875.

[2] The New York *Tribune,* November 22, 1873, had summed up what most of his contemporaries knew quite well then and in 1875, or later, and what has generally been regarded as true by later generations of students of American

Blaine's proposal was not substantially different in length nor in wording from the suggestion made by Grant on December 7, 1875. This, in turn, was not markedly changed from the suggestion Grant had made at a reunion of the Army of the Tennessee when he had addressed the veterans in Des Moines on the previous September 29.[3] The location and emphasis in the official presidential message, however, should have constituted ample warning of the seriousness with which Grant and his advisers regarded the issue of state-supported education.

His words were addressed to the nation as it began its second centennial, and Grant pointed this out, observing that it would be well to "look back upon the past and study what w[ould] be best to preserve and advance our future greatness." Nations in the past had lost their positions of eminence through failure to provide for defenses of their prosperity and happiness; Grant did not want the United States to follow this path through lack of any warning from him. He was convinced that:

> We should look to the dangers threatening us, and remedy them as far as lies in our power. We are a republic whereof one man is as good as another before the law. Under such a form of government it is of the greatest importance that all should be possessed of education and intelligence enough to cast a vote with a right understanding of its meaning. A large association of ignorant men cannot for any considerable period oppose successful resistance to tyranny and oppression from the educated few, but will inevitably sink into acquiescence to the will of intelligence, whether directed by the demagogue or by priestcraft.[4]

From such a statement there could be but one conclusion: that the "education of the masses becomes of the first necessity for the preservation of our institutions." A constitutional amendment should, therefore, be drawn up so that each state would be required to establish and to maintain free public schools adequate to the instruction of

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history: Blaine was "by far the most skillful and sagacious politician in the House." He cherished an ambition to become president, so that "Every act of his public life, if not since he entered Congress, at least since he became Speaker, has been with an eye to its effect on his Presidential chances."

[3] These remarks are included in Anson Phelps Stokes, *Church and State in the United States* (New York, 1950), II, 68, and in almost every other such treatment of religious problems in the United States. Stokes refers to the amendment as having been submitted in 1875, and debated in the same year, whereas no such debate took place until 1876.

[4] *Congressional Record, loc. cit.*, IV, 175, December 7, 1875.

all children in the "rudimentary branches within their respective limits, irrespective of sex, color, birthplace, or religions." Grant continued his recommendation with the words that these schools should be forbidden to teach any religious, atheistic, or pagan tenets, and that they should enjoy exclusive use of funds gathered by the state for public education.[5]

While the bulk of this presidential message was concerned with questions touching the management of the currency and of foreign policy, Grant also recommended taxing all church property except cemeteries and "church edifices" so as to avoid "sequestration, without constitutional authority and through blood" at some future time. He felt so strongly about the educational and religious aspects of his message that—although he had devoted a far greater amount of time and space to other matters—he recapitulated what he deemed to be of vital importance. The first such item was that every state should be required to afford the opportunity of a good common school education to every child within its limits; the second, that no religious doctrines should ever be taught in these schools, nor should schools where such doctrines were taught receive any public monies; the third, that, to secure separation of Church and State, all church property should "bear its own proportion of taxation." With these three points, out of five mentioned in his recapitulation, Grant indicated quite clearly that the much larger amount of space devoted to other matters was no index to his appraisal of their relative importance.[6]

The reasons which would impel Grant to suggest this constitutional amendment, or Blaine to propose it, are tantalizingly difficult to discover and evaluate. Documentary accounts, or private letters and journals recording the actions of the principals in these activities, would offer new insight into accounts which are not much more than two-dimensional in their present state. The lack of any great body of such material for the Grant administration, however, is too well known to need elaborate restatement. Untouched by most writers is a selection of letters which to some extent does illuminate the problems implicit in the offering and debate of the Blaine amendment.

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[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, IV, 175, 181. Grant covered the Church-State problems on the first page, and did not recur to them until the last. Yet he included the proposals on education and on taxation of church property as three of his five points in summation.

It is this body of materials which will be considered in the effort to determine some of the reasons, not heretofore adduced or given adequate attention, which impelled the Republican Party, acting through Blaine, to offer so controversial a proposal in 1875. Earlier considerations of Blaine's career have been based entirely on his own testimony, as contained in his *Twenty Years of Congress* (Norwich, 1884-1886), or on newspaper or periodical accounts contemporary with the activities noted, or on interpretations of the letters of Mrs. Blaine.[7] These sources are understandably limited; limited likewise are the sources now to be used, but they do have the merit of being hitherto unknown, and of possessing real authority on the question of the motives which impelled Blaine and his associates to urge so vigorously the adoption of a projected sixteenth amendment, which as one of its consequences would have hampered seriously the work of the Catholic Church in the cause of American education.

The chief motive which led the Republican Party to consider seriously every means by which victory in 1876 was to be secured was the usual one of bitterness at past defeats. The between-years election of 1874 had resulted in general victories for the Democrats, and Republican Party managers were resolved that the defeat must not be repeated. Defeats in 1873, in such states as Ohio, New York, and Virginia, were attributed by Senator Oliver P. Morton of Indiana and Governor C. C. Washburn of Wisconsin to "want of interest."[8] This lack must be supplied. Before 1875, therefore, prominent men in the party were already exchanging letters about the perennially engrossing subject of what would make satisfactory campaign issues. One such issue seemed ready-made and time-tested; this was the issue of public education as opposed to private education, and New York, Ohio, and Missouri had already passed laws prohibiting private institutions from participating in the use of public funds gathered for educational purposes.[9] If similar legislation could be recommended for all the states, the Republican leaders believed, many voters might change their allegiance from the Democratic to the Republican Party.

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[7] All the published material concerning Blaine—with the exception of the multitudes of campaign biographies, which were sampled—has been consulted in the preparation of this paper. None of the writers has used the manuscript collections to be cited below, although it would seem that Blaine's own collection, slight though it is, should have been among the first to offer valuable insights into this problem. Some research on Blaine's position has been done in the following unpublished master's dissertations at the Catholic University of America: Sister M. Angela Carlin, "The Attitude of the Republican Party toward Religious Schools: 1875-1880," a study of newspaper reaction to the amendment and similar proposals (1948); Sister M. Zygmunta Froncek, "Blaine and the Irish," an account of Blaine's relations with Irish-Americans, particularly after he became Secretary of State for Benjamin Harrison (1932); and the Reverend Lawrence E. Gardner's study of the educational implications of the congressional debate on the Blaine amendment, "The Blaine Amendment of 1875" (1947).

[8] New York *Tribune*, November 14, 1873.

Other issues were certain to evoke much interest; there was always the question of what should be done with the southern states, as yet hardly reconstructed. There was likewise the always vexing problem presented by the immigrant to this country from some foreign state which was predominantly Catholic. If these three issues could be joined in one, the party which proposed a definitive settlement of them could reasonably expect a resounding victory. The Republicans expected to be able to make this nexus, and to win at the polls, too. The effort expended by them in seeking to redress the defeat of 1874 casts some light on the pertinacity shown in the counting of votes in the election of 1876.

One prominent Republican leader, Senator John Sherman of Ohio, was informed in September, 1874, that only a "full *turn out* at the polls" would insure his party's success.[10] The turn out was quite evidently not full enough, and Sherman was told by another state leader that he feared "Ohio is hereafter to be a Democratic State, and this district I have no doubt is permanently such."[11] Ohio was too important, too large, a state to be allowed to sink into Democratic ranks, and Republican leaders began to consider much more seriously the position of their party.

From New York, too, came an alarm. John Binny, writing to Senator Justin Smith Morrill of Vermont, asserted:

> I have written President Grant repeatedly of late, pressing him to reorganize the Republican machinery, particularly in those States of the Union where we have sustained defeats.

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[9] Carlin, *op. cit.*, xx pp. 1, 3.

[10] Library of Congress, John Sherman Papers, A. H. VonVorhes to John Sherman, September 12, 1874. Unless otherwise noted, all the manuscripts cited in this paper may be found in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress; italics, spelling, and grammatical form will appear as in the original.

[11] John Sherman Papers, John Q. Smith to Sherman, October 22, 1874.

> It is by pursuing a wise and patriotic policy and by efficient organizations —and calling out our ablest leaders in each State that we will recover our power and win the next Presidential election, and in no other way.[12]

Binny's words were indicative of the general attitude of party leaders. Who among them could be regarded as a true national leader? Sherman had been informed that a large "majority of leading Republicans" in Warren, Ohio, were opposed to General Garfield,[13] and the sentiment against a third term for Grant was overwhelmingly strong. Anyone who could boldly present to the American electorate a popular, well considered issue might hope to secure that position of national leadership, and proceed from thence to the presidential nomination and election.

Throughout 1875 the identity of such a person remained the chief matter of consideration for the party. Sherman was told, early in that year, that "we shall recover our lost ground by bringing the Southern question again to the fore and uniting the party and giving it new life and vigor."[14] The same letter informed him that, in the writer's opinion, Blaine had scuttled his prospects for the presidency. Knowledge of such local reactions to his ambitions could not long have been concealed from Blaine—especially when he was related to the Sherman family by marriage[15]—and he was, therefore, faced with the necessity of repairing his political fences during the course of little more than a year, if he was to be a successful candidate in the June convention of 1876.

Grant, in the meantime, does not seem to have been willing to relinquish his position or prerogatives in the White House. His letter to the chairman of the Pennsylvania convention, declining the nomination to a third term, published in the late spring of 1875, did not satisfy many of the leaders or local powers within his own party. Again the Ohio Republican, J. Q. Smith, wrote to Sherman, obviously in answer to a letter from the senator:

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[12] Justin Smith Morrill Papers, Binny to Morrill, November 29, 1874.

[13] John Sherman Papers, L. C. Jones to Sherman, October 12, 1874.

[14] *Ibid.*, Isaac R. Sherwood to Sherman, February 1, 1875.

[15] Blaine's mother was the cousin of Mrs. Thomas Ewing. The Ewings' daughter, Ellen, married William Tecumseh Sherman, brother of Senator John Sherman. While there is no record of any great amount of sympathy between the Sherman brothers and Blaine, Ellen Ewing Sherman had spent a good part of her childhood in close association with the Blaine family, and always retained a great affection for James G. Blaine. Some social contacts were maintained between the two families, despite the political friction between Blaine and the Sherman brothers, and it can hardly be possible that the double ties of family and political association would not have brought knowledge of the Ohio situation very quickly to the astute Blaine.

> I agree with you that Grant's letter is a very unsatisfactory letter. It is evident that he has been deeply impressed with the third term idea. I wish our declaration on the subject had been made more explicit. He ought to have been told plainly that the Republicans of Ohio were, on principle, against his reelection in any contingency.[16]

Retention of Ohio as a Republican stronghold was certainly a cardinal issue for the party leaders. One method of securing this objective was quite obvious to Rutherford B. Hayes, another party leader, who told Blaine, then much better known, that:

> The secret of our enthusiastic convention is the school question. The Democrats take the hint and are on the retreat. They will probably [frame] a good sound plank on that subject. If they can get the people to trust them on that subject, their chance of success is good. Otherwise, ***otherwise***. We have been losing strength in Ohio for several years by emigration of Republican farmers and especially of the young men who were in the Army. In their place have come Catholic foreigners. Last year in a tolerably full vote they had 17,000 majority—the vote being larger than when Allen beat Noyes by a scratch. In the cities this spring we were still more decisively beaten. Whether the reaction has spent its force is the question. We shall crowd them on the school and other state issues.[17]

This evaluation of the subject, by a man experienced in politics and inured to defeat,[18] could hardly have spelled out more plainly to Blaine the necessity of combining all the issues which seemed to be of such gravity in Ohio, and would probably be regarded with equal seriousness in other key states. It is not too surprising that Grant failed to see the question in quite this light. Referring, in a letter to an old friend, to the "chronic annual scare of the Republicans lest the Democrats should get into power," he remarked that the members of his party seemed to feel "as though the loss of Ohio this fall would insure a Democratic victory next year, and lead to inflation of the currency, repudiation, and all that has been accomplished by the War and Republican Administrations." He took a much more hopeful view of the situation, he said, though he was anxious "of course, to see the Republicans carry Ohio."[19] Grant's failure to grasp the political realities so apparent to Blaine and other Republican leaders is no doubt a partial explanation of the fashion in which he was maneuvered out of power during the next few months.

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[16] John Sherman Papers, June 8, 1875. For Grant's letter, *cf.* William B. Hesseltine, *Ulysses S. Grant, Politician* (New York, 1935), pp. 377-378.

[17] James G. Blaine Papers, Rutherford B. Hayes to Blaine, June 16, 1875.

[18] There is a small collection of Rutherford B. Hayes letters housed in the Library of Congress. These are mainly letters addressed by Hayes to a former law partner, later to become his private secretary in the White House, William Rogers. They cover a period of thirty years, most of them spent struggling for political recognition, which was very slow to come to Hayes.

Ohio was carried in the fall elections, but by a very narrow margin, or so it seemed to the party leaders. John Sherman remarked to his brother, General William Tecumseh Sherman, that the election had resulted as favorably as he had expected. In his opinion, however, it was a "fair and honest struggle on the currency question—the collateral issues having but little to do with the result."[20] Blaine's attitude was significantly different. He sent a long letter to A. T. Wikoff, chairman of the Ohio Republican Committee, in which he made several observations concerning the recent events and gave some indication of the course he would himself pursue when Congress should reconvene. "The issue forced upon you in regard to the public schools," Blaine observed, "though more local in its character, may yet have far-reaching consequences." The veteran representative was convinced that a government of republican form demanded free education for all its citizens. This contention was based on a conviction that:

> . . . the schools must be kept free—free in every sense and especially from the interference of domination of sects. The bitterest of all strifes is the strife between religious sects, and if that strife be permitted to cross the threshold of our public schools, free education in this country is at an end.[21]

The remainder of this letter to the Ohioan was equally forceful in its language, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Blaine wrote with the intention of securing a hearing from many prospective electors. "We must have absolute religious toleration," he declared, "and toleration can only be maintained by general intelligence." It followed from this premise that the public school alone should receive public support.

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[19] U. S. Grant, *General Grant's Letters to a Friend, 1861-1880* (New York, 1897), pp. 74-75. The letter was written from Long Branch, New Jersey, August 23, 1875, to Elihu B. Washburne, as were all the letters in this small volume.

[20] William T. Sherman Papers, October 14, 1875.

[21] Blaine Papers, October 29, 1875.

> Those who would abolish the non-sectarian public school necessarily breed ignorance—and ignorance is the parent of intolerance and bigotry. A man devoured by his own dogs. Let who would abolish the common school remember the fable and heed the warning. The result of your contest in Ohio will go far towards peacefully settling, or fatally unsettling, this momentous question.[22]

From this position, Blaine did not waver in the ensuing months. His ideas were looked at somewhat askance by his fellow Republicans, who believed that he was using his pronouncements on the school question, or on other issues, in furtherance of his ambition for the presidency. This estimate of his actions had no more effect on deterring Blaine from the course he had determined to follow than the protests of many representatives had caused him to change his rulings while he had acted as Speaker of the House.[23] He was acutely aware of political realities, but always inclined to be somewhat scornful or contemptuous of the judgments of other politicians. His rejection of the political judgments of his associates was probably largely to blame for his failure to secure the presidential nomination in 1876, for at almost the same time that Blaine was communicating his thoughts on the Ohio election to Wikoff, John Sherman was revealing his mind to his brother, the general. Sherman summed up both the Ohio position and that in the nation very shrewdly:

> The elections leave the Republican party in fair position—but so closely pressed that they will be compelled to ignore all prominent leaders and take some obscure man comparatively. Now I think Gov. Hayes has the best chance for election. On the whole I rather prefer him, certainly over several like Morton or Blaine, who have been scheming for the position so long. Grant is nowhere.[24]

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[22] *Ibid.* This letter was, in fact, made public, as is certain from a reference to it in a speech on August 5, 1876, in the House of Representatives; *cf. Congressional Record,* IV^6, app., 277, remarks of Edwin R. Meade. It is also of some interest to note that in a draft of a letter, dated September 5, 1881, but with no indication of the intended addressee, Blaine declared: "In nearly every instance the Presbyterian Pastor was the principal teacher. It was a good old habit which did not alarmingly unite Church and State. . . ."

[23] *Cf.* the report of his conduct of debate in the House, as contained in the New York *Tribune,* throughout January, 1873, and the comment made by General James A. Garfield in a letter to Blaine, January 16, 1876, concerning the amnesty debate: "You certainly stirred up the animals this p.m." Garfield Papers. This collection contains many letters from Blaine or Garfield to the other, but no letter bears upon the school issue in any way.

[24] William T. Sherman Papers, November 14, 1875.

Whether unaware of this judgment, or unconcerned over it and many like it, Blaine evidently continued to plan the strategy he would use in the opening days of the coming Congress. He wrote to Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York *Tribune,* that only a constitutional amendment would quiet the controversy stirred up by the school question. That a constitutional amendment, too, would excite far more attention, and necessitate much more discussion in every state, than a mere bill would do was likewise true, but Blaine did not call this elementary fact to Reid's attention. Both men were fully aware of the political facts of the situation. Blaine told Reid that he did not approve of "lightly evoking the Federal power in state affairs," but that he believed no other solution was possible in the present instance. He suggested that Reid print the letter he enclosed and, if possible, hint his own approval.[25] The issue was made the subject of several newspaper campaigns, and Blaine was the recipient of published and unpublished comments on his ideas.[26] Other politicians, too, were considering the same notions, and the reason that Senator Morrill excised from his speech on "Old Colleges and Old Institutions" a statement deploring privately supported colleges was certainly not a lack of appreciation for the vital quality of the school issue.[27]

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[25] Blaine Papers, November 29, 1875. Unlike many manuscript collections, the Blaine Papers include original letters, often holographs written by Blaine, and evidently returned to him or his family by their recipients. The letter cited is such a one. The Garfield and Reid Papers contain letterpress copies of letters sent.

[26] *Cf.* Carlin, *op. cit.* Some newspaper clippings contained in the Blaine Papers likewise bear out this contention, as do others obtained in photostat from the University of Pennsylvania Library, Samuel Jackson Randall Manuscripts. In the Blaine Papers there is an interesting letter from one D. McKeon, writing from St. Paul, Minnesota, to Blaine, and observing that not Catholics, but political fanatics, were introducing the religious issue into politics.

[27] Justin Smith Morrill Papers. This fragment, which may even have been intended for delivery a year before this time, declared: "Endowments, hampered forever by the will of the dead, leave colleges in the narrow groove of individual caprice, or of sectarian exclusiveness, flickering in its dying socket, but the National Colleges are to be launched and guided on broader seas by the Nation and the States, where they must always keep pace with the movements of the age in the warm gulf-stream of advancing knowledge." In 1874 Morrill had received a letter from Andrew D. White, president of Cornell University, which declared: "we must rely, especially in our Western and Southern States, on *public* provision, adopting the principle that the *people should provide for the education of the people* in all its parts from first to last."

Morrill, in fact, made a statement in a draft of a letter to a "Dear James," otherwise unidentified, that might have done the common school cause much good in some areas, and much harm in others. These schools, he wrote, "all but universal now, and tending to become more and more so, are likely to leaven the whole lump and [make] national unity not only possible but probable. . . . Religion will tend to mold together the great majority of our people, as it is distinctively Protestant."[28] Catholic editors, already alarmed by the course of anti-private school legislation, would have seized on that remark with vigor, had it ever been published. As it was, they had sufficient cause for filling columns with adjurations to Catholic voters to defeat such legislation.

The Grant message of December 7 touched off a new set of charges and counter-charges, both sides rising to new heights after the formal presentation of Blaine's amendment. If it is true that Grant's chief advisers were Conkling, Morton, Logan, Fish, and Edmunds,[29] it would seem to be significant that states of much political and strategic importance were represented by this group. New York, Indiana, and Illinois were all regarded by the leaders of both parties as key states in the compiling of electoral returns. Vermont, with Edmunds and Morrill as its senators, could play an important part in the development and control of sentiment in New England. The Ohio situation was a matter of concern to all of these areas, and to the leaders from other states. If its adherence to the Republican platform could be assured, so also could be assured a Republican victory.

Morrill, addressing a Vermont political leader, spoke approvingly of the president's message, and drew a sharp line of distinction between the groups which would approve or disapprove it—or were already extremely vocal in their expressions toward it. "The message is thought to be very able and mainly judicial," the Vermont senator wrote. "The Catholics will rave but I suppose there is not one who ever voted for free-men, free-schools, or the Republican party in war or peace."[30] Having thus dismissed the Catholics from his political consciousness, Morrill—like his fellows in Congress—could await the outbreak of the debate over the proposed sixteenth amendment. While that debate was in preparation, Senator Sherman was still concerning himself about the possibility of providing a Republican candidate for the presidency who would be really acceptable to most of the voters of the country. Not unnaturally, his thoughts turned to his brother, the general.

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[28] Morrill Papers. Undated, this letter is filed with others dated in 1876.

[29] Selig Adler, *The Senatorial Career of George Franklin Edmunds, 1866-1891* (Urbana, 1934), p. (4). The pagination is given in parentheses in this abstract of a doctoral dissertation. Roscoe Conkling was Blaine's most prominent opponent; Morton, the Senator from Indiana, likewise objected to Blaine's attempted leadership. John A. Logan became Blaine's running-mate in 1884. Fish was the only man to serve throughout Grant's two terms; he was a highly regarded Secretary of State. Edmunds was much opposed to Blaine. Of these five men, only two might give him some aid, and that reluctantly: Logan and Fish.

"Cump's" ambitions were evidently not political, however, and the senator's letter was received with some amusement in the St. Louis home where General Sherman had established himself after the conclusion of the war. The interesting feature of the senatorial invitation to consider a presidential candidacy was the fashion in which the matter of Catholic schools was interwoven with the more immediate issue. The only objection to the general's candidacy, wrote the senator, was the question associated with the Catholic Church:

> The Priests from the Pope down have been so foolish as to assail our common schools. Their position is untenable. If religious teaching is admitted into them, it is an end of the system. I have no prejudice whatever against Catholics, their faith or their priests, but I can see at a glance that if they will persist in making an issue on the sharing of the school funds or upon the introduction of their forms and dogmas into any of the schools supported by general taxes they will array against themselves not only the whole Protestant population but Jews, Gentiles and Pagans also. The assumption that they will not send their children to non-sectarian schools would lead them to prohibit marriage, companionship, and even political association with other than Catholics, and thus divide society into sects and revive again the religious wars of the middle ages.[31]

The senator's appraisal of the situation—worthy of special note in view of his remarkably long and accurate record in summing-up political matters—was one to be considered seriously by the general. This was particularly true of the remark made in continuing the argument already cited: "The feeling of indifference or kindness now generally prevalent as to the Catholic Church and under which it has grown and prospered would be converted into hatred and intolerance, and they would be practically ostracized as they were in England and the American colonies 100 years ago." To avoid this result, one which would be "in the highest degree unfortunate," Senator Sherman could see no solution except that of keeping religion or religious teaching out of the common schools. On the other hand, a constitutional amendment might afford the quickest remedy, but one which would create agitation, or so the senator believed. He wished particularly to assure the general's wife, Ellen—Blaine's cousin—that he would never apply any theory to her Church that he would not apply to all; Ellen should be informed of this attitude, so that she would not "think ill of her relations who resist demands made by the Church that cannot safely be yielded to any Sect or to all the Sects combined."[32]

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[30] Morrill Papers, Morrill to G. G. Benedict, December 19, 1875.

[31] William T. Sherman Papers, December 25, 1875.

Whatever Ellen Sherman's reaction may have been to this letter from the senator, the general's was one of rather wry amusement. He answered his brother that he hoped the latter would "vote for the amendment without committal as to reasons," but that his own position had been one of the man who must pay double taxes to support both the common schools—which had proved to be uncommon, "too costly in buildings and Professors for the name,"—and the instruction of his children in Catholic schools. The general doubted the wisdom of a constitutional amendment, because states could evade it by levying very slight taxes for the support of schools. As to the power of pope and priests, this charge was of slight force, in view of the actual political situations then prevailing. His own candidacy, the general thought, was far too unlikely a prospect to be discussed at length.[33]

By the end of 1875, then, the main lines of the next year's controversy had been drawn: these included the necessity of both a strong issue and a blameless candidate, if the Republicans were to win; the desirability of combining local issues with national ones; the preferability of a constitutional amendment over a bill; the possibility of utilizing deeply embedded prejudices, and the willingness of political leaders to seize every advantage to be gained—either for themselves or for their parties—from any mixture of these elements. Blaine was undoubtedly the most adroit of those men then in the public eye, and it was to Blaine that most of the credit would go if the party proved to be victorious through his work on the constitutional amendment. Into this situation, however, was precipitated an issue which caused Blaine grave concern, and which he was convinced would prevent his nomination.

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[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Ibid.*, December 29, 1875. Sherman wrote in similar vein to Blaine, May 28, 1884. Quoted in Mary Abigail Dodge, *Biography of James G. Blaine* (Norwich, Connecticut, 1895), pp. 624-5.

Early in 1876 Blaine wrote to Whitelaw Reid, urging him to print a clipping from a newspaper issued in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. This clipping was an account of Blaine's visit with relatives in Carlisle, and mentioned particularly his descent from a Revolutionary War figure, Colonel Ephraim Blaine. It noted as well that Blaine and his son had attended services in the old Stone Presbyterian Church, "to which his ancestors were among the chief contributors." Blaine and his son were the fifth and sixth generations of this family, descended from Scotch and Scotch-Irish stock, to attend such services.[34] Reid's reaction to this plea was evidently not sufficient to meet Blaine's ideas of what was needed. Blaine wrote again in the same month, begging Reid to print an account of his Protestant origin and affiliation, and explaining that:

> Because my excellent mother was a Catholic, and because I am a cousin of Mrs. General Sherman, certain friends(?) are determined to force me —nolens volens—into the Catholic Church—for a reason which I need not recall to you.[35]

Reid's blunt reply was that "that story" would hurt Blaine far less than his championing of a machine candidate, or his using the Andersonville Prison story in the debate concerning amnesty for Jefferson Davis.[36]

"That story" may be regarded as fundamental to Blaine's determination to use the proposed sixteenth amendment as a means to secure the presidential nomination. Admittedly prominent and gifted, Blaine had not yet secured the prize he coveted most, and his public career was dangerously threatened by his associations with business men who allegedly made it possible for him to become wealthy. He was, in fact, to undergo severe investigation and censure for such associations during most of the months when the school issue was quiescent. If, in an era when nativism was strong, Blaine could be proved to belong to the Catholic Church, his career would be irretrievably ruined. Against such a possibility Blaine was willing to work with all his force, and during the next few months he had to do so.

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[34] Blaine Papers, January 3, 1876. Blaine wrote the letter from Carlisle.

[35] *Ibid.*, January 22, 1876. Blaine had by this time returned to Washington.

[36] Whitelaw Reid Papers, January 23, 1876. Reid's reply to Blaine is a letter-press copy. The Andersonville Prison story was a lurid account of the evils suffered by Union prisoners in a Confederate prison.

Blaine's actual religious status was certainly not clear to his contemporaries. His mother had been a Catholic, but his father was a Protestant, as he had already reminded Reid. With nineteenth-century arrangements for mixed marriages and for determining the religious beliefs of the children of such unions much less explicit than they have since become, Blaine might as a matter of fact have been educated in either—or neither—religious group. The testimony on the subject—most of it published only at the later date when Blaine actually succeeded in securing the nomination—was not too clear. Maria Gillespie Blaine had come from an Irish Catholic family, and Ephraim Blaine from a Scotch Presbyterian one. Concerning these facts, all authorities were in agreement. On the matter of the baptism and religious instruction of the Blaine children, opinions diverged. Some old residents of Washington County, Pennsylvania, where James G. Blaine was born, agreed that Blaine "is not and never was a Catholic, but probably he was baptized." These persons would declare that he went to the Presbyterian church every Sunday,[37] and others informed Blaine's biographers that he followed the religious beliefs of his father, doing so, according to an uncle, by "his mother's consent, indeed by her wish."[38]

There were other residents of the district who would declare that they remembered seeing Mrs. Blaine taking James G. Blaine by the hand and leading him, Sunday after Sunday, year in and year out, up the hill to the Catholic church. These persons later represented their chief objection to Blaine as his forgetting the faith in which he had been reared, since they contended that they had sung *Ave Marias* with him, and participated "in the rites of the Church by his side."[39] Against such charges Blaine had already issued denials in 1876, according to one biographer, when he wrote to an unnamed friend:

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[37] J. B. McClure, *Life and Great Speeches of James G. Blaine* (Chicago, 1890), p. 32; Hugh Craig, *The Biography and Public Services of Hon. James G. Blaine* (New York, 1884), pp. 14-15; John C. Ridpath, *Life and Times of James G. Blaine* (Philadelphia, 1893), p. 39.

[38] James Wilson Pierce, *Life of the Hon. James G. Blaine* (Baltimore, 1893), p. 13; Theron Clark Crawford, in *James G. Blaine* (n.p., Edgewood Publishing Co., 1893), p. 49, asserts: "He followed the Church of his father while several of the other children joined the mother's Church." The one life written by a person in the best position to know the facts was the breathlessly adoring production of "Gail Hamilton," a cousin of Blaine's. She made little mention of his religious beliefs, beyond endowing him with all the virtues of Christian manliness, etc., and recording his conversion to Congregationalism after his removal to Augusta. Dodge, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-121.

> The charge is very provoking, considering the motive that inspires it, and very exasperating when I see it connived at, if not, in fact, originated by men who sat with me in a Presbyterian Bible class. The charge is part and parcel of the tactics of the Cameron gang to rob me of the Pennsylvania delegates . . .[40]

The published stories of 1884 were obviously current in 1876, and Blaine's own testimony would, therefore, be most valuable for the decision of the issue. He was quoted as having informed the Reverend E. R. Donehoo of Pittsburgh that he was a Presbyterian "in faith, but not in name. My wife and I are members of the Congregational church in Maine . . ."[41] This statement would be far more valuable if it could be dated. As it was, the year 1876 found Blaine issuing vigorous protests against injecting the issue of his Catholicity or the reverse into the campaign. "No pressure," he wrote, again to an unnamed correspondent, "will draw me into any avowal of hostility or unfriendliness to Catholics, though I have never received, and do not expect any political support from them."[42] He could hardly hope for political support if it could be demonstrated that he was a lapsed Catholic, and this he must have known. With no clear testimony as to his membership in the Church, however, what was his main concern in 1876?

As late as 1881 Blaine was still avoiding the question about which he had written the pleading letter to Whitelaw Reid. This, it seems certain, was the question of what his father's religion had been. If no other issue were involved, why would Blaine have been so insistent on the publication of an account which would demonstrate beyond cavil that his father had been a Presbyterian? In 1881, writing to

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[39] Boston *Pilot,* July 5, 1884. The same issue carried another item accusing Blaine of being responsible for the publication of anti-Catholic material used against a congressional candidate, one Madigan of Houlton, Maine, in Blaine's newspaper. The *Pilot* quite obviously did not like Blaine or any of his works.

[40] J. W. Buel, *The Authorized Pictorial Lives of James Gillespie Blaine and John Alexander Logan* (New York, 1884), p. 264.

[41] McClure, *op. cit.,* p. 48.

[42] Craig, *op. cit.,* p. 297.

John McKennan, on the occasion of Washington County's centennial, Blaine declared:

> I shall always recall with pride that my ancestry and kindred were, and are, not inconspicuously connected with its [the country's] history, and that on either side of the beautiful river, in Protestant and Catholic cemeteries, five generations of my own blood sleep in honored graves.[43]

In fact, however, Blaine's father, who had died in 1871, slept in a Catholic cemetery,[44] and it is quite clear that he had been converted to Catholicism before his death. One of Blaine's cousins, Mother Angela Gillespie, the American foundress of the Holy Cross Sisters, wrote to him in 1884, after his defeat for the presidency, and remarked:

> In His Church He gives all that is needed for time, for preparation for eternity. Thank God it is the Church of your baptism. [Thank God for the faith] which sustained your dear Mother through life and brought the blessings of a happy death to your honored father.[45]

Mother Angela had written, earlier in the same year, to the Reverend Louis A. Lambert, pastor of St. Mary's Church, Waterloo, New York, that he had been mistaken in declaring that Blaine had been confirmed. There was a confusion here with Blaine's brother Ephraim, but "Jimmy . . . never was confirmed nor never made his first communion." Mother Angela's account of the childhood of Blaine continued:

> His father permitted all his children to be baptized in infancy, selected non-Catholic schools for his boys' education because he thought them best, and said, "when they are old enough let these boys select their own religion."[46]

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[43] This letter of September 5, 1881, quoted by Craig, is in the Blaine Papers. The other letters quoted by biographers have not been found, but it should be noted that the Blaine collection is very far from being complete, or even reasonably full.

[44] Craig, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[45] Blaine Papers. The letter, though undated, was obviously written in November, 1884, since it refers to the defeat made known just a few days previous to the writing of the letter.

[46] Department of Archives and Manuscripts of the Catholic University of America. Louis A. Lambert Letters. Mother Angela Gillespie to Lambert, October 26, 1884. Father Lambert was then editor of the *Catholic Times;* his remarks about Blaine had been quoted in a school paper, otherwise unidentified.

She enclosed a copy of a letter written by Blaine in 1882, in which he had told a kinsman that his father and mother were buried in the Catholic cemetery in Brownsville.[47]

These items of information were partially public knowledge, partially concealed, in 1884. In 1876, however, none of them was available, and Blaine had even been accused of being a Know-Nothing.[48] Even the accusation is not free of the suspicion that it may have been made to cloak Blaine's possible Catholicity. The Catholic vote was suspected of having determined the results of elections since 1870; Catholics were notoriously suspicious of persons who had ceased to practice their faith. Putting these two ideas in conjunction, Blaine, as an exceptionally able politician, could scarcely avoid coming to the conclusion that no one should be allowed to discover that his father had become a Catholic before his death. If that fact were made public, how could Blaine explain that he, the son of two Catholic parents and not just one, was not himself a practicing Catholic? Above all, how could he continue to contend that he had never been a member of that faith?

On the other hand, the opposition to Catholics was far greater than the strength of that group. If Blaine could be represented as a Catholic in a period when Know-Nothingism had scarcely died out, and when new nativist outbursts were expected, then he might lose a far larger portion of the electorate, that which regarded all Catholics as unpatriotic, unprincipled followers of the policy of a foreign potentate. The dilemma which confronted Blaine was a real one, and he evidently decided to pursue a course which he must have hoped would satisfy both sides, but which, as is usual with such determinations, pleased neither.

One other element in Blaine's life needs to be mentioned here; this was the attitude of his wife, Harriet. Mrs. Blaine was not herself a Catholic and never displayed any sympathy for the Church, although she occasionally used expressions in letters to members of her family that indicated she was somewhat aware of some of its usages. She attended the services of the Presbyterian Church while she was in

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[47] *Ibid.* Mother Angela copied this letter and dated it October 19, 1884, but she had told Father Lambert in the covering letter that it was addressed to their cousin, Judge P. B. Ewing, by Blaine in 1882.

[48] New York *Herald,* December 22, 1875. The accusation was repeated in the same paper July 27, 1884.

Washington, and her husband generally accompanied her, if the references in her letters are to be taken as typical. She gave an account of one such service in a letter to her son, Walker, in which she remarked that they had all gone, true to their persuasion, to hear Dr. Rankin on Easter Sunday. Rankin was Jeremiah Eames Rankin, already a famous preacher and later to become still more widely known as the second president of Howard University. Mrs. Blaine did not care for this Easter service, complaining that they "were repaid by hearing 'Praise God Barebones' sort of hymns, a very gloomy sermon, and not one flower to relieve the chilliness of the services. For the children's sake," she continued, "I wish our services had more magnetism."[49]

The magnetism she found lacking in these rites was evidently supplied, in one daughter's opinion, in the Catholic Church, and Mrs. Blaine wrote her in considerable alarm in 1883. This daughter, Margaret, had been studying in Europe, and had evidently written that she was attracted by the Church's teaching. Her mother answered: "Remember, my dear child, how much our surroundings influence our judgment; everything is relative, and I shall be woefully disappointed should you consent to any obligations which fetter the intellect."[50] Margaret's interest persisted, however, and a later letter informed her that she was to return home immediately instead of remaining in Paris until June as had been planned. In this letter, Mrs. Blaine expressed herself far more strongly:

> Think of the world outside that limited one in which you are now living—the freedom of it and of that inner intellectual life in which you have been brought up. When all the best in the world is finding its way toward freedom, would you go back and doom yourself to the restraints of fallible dogmas? You and I shall find God as easily by our own searching as the Church has found Him, and I cannot conceive of a person born outside the restrictions which are imposed before birth, voluntarily fettering themselves body and mind, and I have no sympathies with the cowardice or laziness which has caused so many to acquiesce in the formulas of the Catholic church.[51]

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[49] H. S. B. Beale, *Letters of Mrs. James G. Blaine*, 2 volumes (New York, 1908), I, 107. *Cf.* Gamaliel Bradford, "The Wife of the Plumed Knight," *Harper's Magazine*, CLI (July, 1925), 161-169.

[50] *Ibid.*, II, 80.

[51] *Ibid.*, II, 97. In spite of Mrs. Blaine's opposition to the Church, a daughter, Alice, who had married a Catholic army officer named Coppinger,

In the absence of direct testimony as to Mrs. Blaine's discussions of religious matters with her husband, these few extracts from her letters shed some light on the attitude of one of the partners in the marriage. Combined with what has already been quoted from Blaine's own correspondence, they indicate that the household was thoroughly, though not perhaps strongly, Protestant. In such a household, suspicion of Catholic beliefs and practices might be somewhat mitigated by an acquaintanceship with relations who were Catholic and yet socially acceptable, but there was little likelihood that the Protestant household would ever be free of some suspicion of the Catholic relatives.

Since Mrs. Blaine had commented on hearing Rankin's sermon, and continued to make occasional references to attending services in his church, it would be interesting to know whether Blaine accompanied her to the services in January, 1876, after he had introduced his amendment, and while debate on it had not yet become formal. One of his colleagues, Senator Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts, was present at one of Rankin's sermons in that month, and recorded in his diary his impressions of it. The actual subject, as he noted, was the Bible in the schools, a subject then much discussed as the natural consequence of debate on legislation which would prohibit aid to non-public schools. Like Rankin, clergymen of all beliefs were concerned about the possible exclusion of the Bible, prayers, or religious teaching in any form from all schools, although not all of them were animated by the spirit Rankin displayed.

"Self-defense is the corner-stone of his argument," Dawes wrote. This self-defense would require the government to prevent vice and crime, but the most efficient instrumentality in the prevention of vice and crime was the Bible. In true scholastic fashion, therefore, it followed that the Bible should be used by the government in the schools "where the seeds of vice and crime first take root." Rankin's

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did become a Catholic. Blaine allegedly refused the services of a priest in his last illness, although these were offered by Cardinal Gibbons, who was on friendly terms with Blaine. Cf. Ridpath, *op. cit.*, p. 229; Dodge, *op. cit.*, p. 721. John Tracy Ellis, in his *Life of James Cardinal Gibbons* (Milwaukee, 1952), II, 503, note 9, quotes a letter from Mrs. Blaine, who thanked Cardinal Gibbons for coming to see her husband in his last moments, and commended him for his patience in awaiting a request which "alas! never came." If this expression was used in reference to Blaine's failure to seek reconciliation with the Church, Mrs. Blaine's attitude had suffered a real change.

words were then followed by a bitter denunciation of the Catholic Church, on lines which Dawes quite obviously believed to be very badly chosen. His account continued:

> Mr. R. was very bitter in his denunciation of Catholiscism [*sic*]. In answer to the argument that Catholiscism [*sic*] is in itself a good police system, he said that it begets the necessity for such a system. When the Priest points to the servant girl compelled by the confessional to return stolen property, he said, "If she had not been a Catholic she would not have stolen at all." Oh, fudge![52]

Rankin's objections to Catholic activity were expressed even more strongly in other parts of his sermon. He viewed the Church as the chief enemy of free education in the country, and contended that Catholics were misguided in regard to almost all major issues. "Who constitute the dangerous classes in a republic?" he demanded. And he answered himself: "They are the men and women and children who are kept from the Bible. You may tell me that some of them are very religious. I admit it. And yet many of them do not understand the first true principles of true Christian morality." This deplorable situation resulted, Rankin was persuaded, from reliance upon a system which substituted the "traditions of men, human legends, myths and chronicles, for the sublime oracles of God." The only merit claimed for it was that it could be a good police system, and this argument Rankin proceeded to attack in the fashion which had aroused Dawes' resentment. The peroration of this sermon, after a "bloody shirt" reference to the Civil War, was particularly inflammatory:

> . . . now rises up this great ecclesiastical tyranny . . . and flings itself across the pathway of our progress; brings upon us its entail of ignorance and poverty and crime, imported, created here; seduces our legislators into granting it subsidies and endowments; and then arrays itself against the Bible in our common schools—against the schools themselves; striking a double blow at the very citadel of our freedom; and when we remonstrate, it pleads the rights of conscience! Have we another half century of conflict before us before we open our eyes to the truth, that this is one vast political system, even more than that of slavery; all the more dangerous, all the more insidious, because it bears an ecclesiastical name, and pleads for church rights; that it is a system never to be satisfied until it names

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[52] Henry L. Dawes Papers, Diary of the senator, entry dated March 14, 1876. From the entries which precede and follow it, however, it is obvious that the senator wrote March incorrectly for January.

for us our law-makers and judges and executives; until it has its foot upon our necks?[53]

Published and unpublished speeches such as this one could assist in the formation of public opinion, and might even influence a vote or election directly, if they could be arranged to be heard immediately before a canvass. The spring and early summer of 1876, however, were devoted to more titillating reports of high finance as investigated by the Democrats, after having allegedly been engaged in by the Republicans.

More conventional political activity was proceeding apace, while the religious and popular press were faithfully reporting the official attitudes of clergy and political spokesmen. Blaine's position was suddenly modified by his appointment to the United States Senate, and General Sherman received more correspondence concerning his own possible presidential candidacy. Again he was informed that his suspected adherence to Catholicism was the only argument urged against him.[54] With a public speech scheduled to be delivered on Washington's birthday, Sherman might show his own preference in the debate over the schools, and one of his correspondents hoped that he would do so.

The subject was a highly explosive one by now, however, and Sherman was warned that "there is a little bit of sectarian feeling in the subject, just at this time, that makes it difficult to handle. Every thing you write and every word you utter would be scanned, criticized, and construed—probably as from a bidder for the Presidency."[55] Sherman managed to avoid the pitfalls envisaged by his well-wisher, and in the meantime his wife was writing to her cousin about her own efforts to defend the school amendment. "Here I am fighting Catholic editors," she wrote, "and going forth daily armed 'cap a pie' in your defence, wherever there may be a miscreant bold enough to assail you."

The Shermans were now united in regard to Blaine's policy, whatever the extent of their disagreement as imagined when the general had informed the senator that Ellen was annoyed with both Blaine and her brother Tom for their attitude in regard to the schools.[56] Ellen now assured Blaine that his demonstration regarding the state constitutions and school laws would play havoc with his interests among Irish friends and Catholics alike, but she hoped that time might change this.[57] There can be no doubt, from the tone of this letter, or that of any of the letters preserved in the Blaine Papers, that Ellen Sherman continued to regard Blaine and his activities with deep affection, as did also his other cousin, Mother Angela. Whether this attitude was based on the hope that Blaine might yet return to the Church, or on the belief that he was a man of such integrity in his personal relationships that public charges against him could only be calumnies; or whether other evidence, not preserved in any collection, would indicate some variations from the regard displayed in the letters still extant, are questions which probably must remain unanswered.[58]

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[53] *The Bible the Security of American Institutions.* Photostatic copy of a printed sermon, delivered January 16, 1876, by Jeremiah Eames Rankin. Photostats secured from the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The portions quoted are on pages 3, 5, and 6 of this six-page leaflet.

[54] William T. Sherman Papers. Letters from John Sherman, January 24, 1876, and from T. H. Reeves, January 29, 1876.

[55] *Ibid.*, S. M. Bowman, January 29, 1876.

Meanwhile congressional activity in regard to the Blaine amendment had been confined to committee proceedings until late in the summer. Both Democratic and Republican politicians concerned themselves about the proposed amendment at the time when the political conventions met, and both party platforms incorporated planks reflecting the intense public interest in the school question. The Republican plank, as might have been expected since the Republican, Blaine, had introduced an amendment on the subject, declared that: "the public-school system of the several states is a bulwark of the American republic and, with a view to its security and permanence, we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control."[59]

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[56] *Supra,* letter of December 25, 1875, cited in note 31.

[57] Blaine Papers, Ellen Ewing Sherman to Blaine, February 4, 1876. Whether Mrs. Sherman had been as much annoyed as her husband had informed his brother she was, six weeks before this letter, and had been placated or won over by some form of persuasion, or whether she had never been as much perturbed as the general had indicated, would be interesting to know. *Cf.* the Boston *Pilot,* and Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph* of this period for many examples of what Mrs. Sherman found objectionable.

[58] There are several letters from each of these cousins in the Blaine Papers, all of them showing the warmest affection for him and his family, and indicating the deepest admiration for his political activities, together with some scorn for his opponents. None of these letters, however, contains further information on the school question.

The Democrats, in contradiction to this attitude, declared that the Republicans wished to enkindle sectarian strife with a false issue. The public schools belonged to the states in their establishment and their support, an ideal which the party had *"cherished from their foundation,"* and would maintain without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed and without largesses from the treasury to any.[60] While the expression was somewhat ambiguous, the intentions of the party leaders were clear enough. The tactics of Blaine and his associates had led Democratic politicians to believe that the amendment was merely a proposal to lessen the prerogatives of the states, and to give the Republicans, if they were re-elected, an opportunity to distribute funds from the federal treasury to certain selected institutions.

One ardent Democrat had written his congressman from Pennsylvania, almost as soon as the Blaine amendment had been proposed, that the Democrats should resist the amendment as an encroachment on states' rights.[61] "In the name of order and liberty," he wrote, "and of that peace which is the offspring of order and liberty, let the United States Government let the states mind their own business." The writer envisioned the break-up of the party, the inclusion of still more infamous provisions in the United States Constitution, and interminable lawsuits as among the evils which would ensue if this amendment were not defeated by the efforts of the Democrats, united in opposition to it.

Randall's answer to his constituent has not been preserved, but there can be no doubt, from an inspection of the columns of the *Congressional Record,* that all the arguments thus far noted or anticipated by the persons whose correspondence has been cited were to recur in the halls of Congress. In a speech reported for July 15, 1876, the Democratic representative, S. S. Cox, of New York, declared that a whole series of happenings, beginning with the presidential message of the preceding December and including Blaine's amendment, the Republican platform, and Hayes' letter of acceptance, all pointed "with no unmistakable index to a sinister sentiment of religious bigotry."[62] For a month after this pronouncement, either in speeches or in actual debate, representatives and senators expressed themselves with a freedom sometimes shocking on the subject of the amendment. Representative Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire, for example, later to lead a campaign in the Senate for the passage of an amendment similar to Blaine's, thrust back at the Democrats by asserting that the amendment was necessary only because there was an "*alliance* of effort, between sectarianism and one of our great political parties. That party embodies and organizes all the elements of war upon our common-school system, and the spirit of sectarianism is only one of the influences which it absorbs."[63]

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[59] *The Republican Campaign Text Book for 1880* (Washington, D. C., 1880), p. 183. This is quoted also in W. S. Myers, *The Republican Party* (New York, 1928), p. 222.

[60] *Republican Campaign Text Book,* pp. 183-184. The peculiar usages noted here are a part of the text.

[61] University of Pennsylvania Library, Samuel Jackson Randall Manuscripts. Brinton Coxe to Randall, December, 1875.

Blair then proceeded to show that the southern states had much higher percentages of illiteracy than the northern and that there was an alliance between southern politicians and "Romanish propagandists." He came to a climax with the reminder that the pope was the only foreign potentate who had recognized the Confederacy. It was only to be expected that the one element always mentioned in these religious arguments, but not yet included in this one, should next be introduced. "The wily Jesuits," charged Blair, "are changing the ground of their attack to the defenceless ignorance of the South."[64]

A really defensible statement was made as Blair concluded his speech. The campaign of 1876, he insisted, had "comparatively" only one question involved in it: the school question in the South. While it is doubtful that Blaine had envisaged such a narrow application of his proposal, or that Grant himself had intended this, still it was quite certain that the amendment was ideally suited for application to any political situation. It could be used to attack Catholics, the Irish, southern illiterates, proponents of states' rights, all immigrants from Catholic countries, or anyone else who would make a popular target. It could also require the Democrats to expend disproportionate amounts of energy in defense of each of these targets, and would probably result in forcing them to alienate some of their support. Best of all, it could assist in making or improving the political fortunes of the men who urged its acceptance, while it could hardly fail to do the contrary to those who opposed it.

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[62] *Congressional Record,* Forty-fourth Congress, 1st session, IV^{6}, appendix, 180.

[63] *Ibid.,* p. 236. Blair's several proposals for amendment of the Constitution were made during the 1880's and 1890's.

[64] *Ibid.,* p. 243. The charge concerning papal recognition of the Confederacy has been demonstrated to be false; *cf.* Leo F. Stock, *United States Ministers to the Papal States* (Washington, 1933), pp. xxxv-xxxix.

The amendment was reported out of the House Committee on the Judiciary, with two modifications. To the original language, the committee had added the injunction that no religious sect or denomination should receive any money from public tax funds for the support of its schools. At the conclusion of the amendment, the committee—in what proved to be a vain effort to stave off Democratic objections to the proposal—had suggested the propriety of words showing that "This article shall not vest, enlarge, or diminish legislative power in the Congress."[65] The addition was immediately opposed by Representative George W. McCray of Iowa, who contended that it nullified the original resolution. This may, in fact, have been the effect intended by the man who proposed the amendment, William Lawrence of Ohio. Lawrence was a Republican and a very able congressman, a member of the House Committee on the Judiciary.[66] George Frisbie Hoar of Massachusetts defended the addition, however, declaring that Congress did not intend to interfere with the internal governments of the states, except to be sure that they had republican governments.[67]

Since to members of both houses of Congress elected from the southern states, the phrase republican form of government had been supplied with a capital R from the time of the dissolution of the Confederacy, they were unlikely to remain quiet before the possibility of having something worse than reconstruction foisted upon them. They might, in this instance, rely also upon the assistance from Democratic colleagues from northern states. After some exchanges, then, briefer than might have been expected, the bill passed the House with only seven nays—although ninety-eight congressmen did not vote.[68]

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[65] *Ibid.*, IV^6, 5189. A résumé of the maneuvers associated with the voting on the Blaine amendment may be found in Stokes, *op. cit.*, II, 722-728.

[66] The minutes of the House Committee on the Judiciary show that Lawrence proposed the addition on August 4, 1876, just before the committee took the amendment to the floor of the House. There is no other record of committee action on the bill, except determination of the time to consider it. National Archives, Minutes of the Committee, pp. 83, 118.

[67] *Congressional Record,* Forty-fourth Congress, 1st session, IV^6, 5190-5191.

[68] *Ibid.,* 5191.

In the Senate the bill almost immediately met stiff and pronounced opposition. Senator Isaac P. Christiancy of Michigan, for example, found fault with the measure because it did not go far enough. The United States government was not prohibited from assisting sectarian institutions, and Christiancy, therefore, suggested that another amendment might be added to provide for this deficiency.[69] In the meantime, while the Senate turned its attention to other subjects, Representative Edwin R. Meade of New York, admittedly an Irish Catholic, pointedly addressed the House on the resurrection of intolerance. No one knew how intolerance was to be restored as an issue, according to Meade's charges, until the way was pointed out by Grant in his Des Moines speech. Meade contended that the purpose of this speech could only have been "to provoke a response which would justify its utterance." Before charging both Grant and Blaine with belonging to a group of Know-Nothings, Meade asked:

> Who is so blind as not to perceive that this language [of Grant's] was deliberately and willfully prepared to incite rancor and hatred in the breasts of our fellow-citizens; . . . having for its immediate object to influence the Ohio election which was then impending?[70]

The charge had now been publicly made, and it is not at all odd that Ohio politicians, particularly the Republican presidential candidate, should be somewhat concerned about the situation. Hayes wrote in considerable annoyance to Senator Sherman that the House, in his opinion, had made a serious mistake in adopting the proposed amendment. As it stood, only school funds could be refused to the sectarian or non-public schools. Efforts should be made to prevent ***any public*** money from going to such schools. If the House should concur in such a proposal to revise the amendment, it would "destroy all chance of Democratic success in the fall. Let me urge you," concluded Hayes, "to give this attention in a way that will be effective."[71]

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[69] *Ibid.*, 5246.

[70] *Ibid.*, appendix 277. Included in Meade's remarks was a charge that Blaine had received a letter, dated November 9, 1875, inviting him to join a secret anti-Catholic order, and declaring that Grant and some congressmen had already joined. This reference was to the "Foster charges" already mentioned as contained in the New York *Herald; supra,* note 48.

[71] John Sherman Papers, August 7, 1876. The italics in the phrase ***any public*** were used by Hayes.

Senator Sherman's idea of what would prove effective was to send Hayes' letter to Senator Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, with an endorsement noting that Hayes' objective had been anticipated by the Senate Committee on the Judiciary.[72] The House, in the meantime, was being informed that the original object of the Blaine amendment had been to remove the unspecified "fear which had been raised as a bugaboo throughout the country for political purposes,"[73] but the House was in no mood to pursue the debate until it should receive word from the Senate about its reaction to the proposal. Less than a week after the House vote, Senator George F. Edmunds of Vermont reported the bill favorably, with an amendment, and a new phase of the debate began in the Senate.[74]

On the same day that Edmunds was able to assure the Senate that Blaine's proposal, as amended, was ready for consideration, an American politician in Rome was writing to Senator Sherman that he anticipated the coming presidential election as a hard contest. "I do not believe," he wrote, "that the American people is yet prepared to surrender to disunion and rebel influences the ground so stoutly maintained against the confederates in the field, and everything seems to me to presage a Republican victory in November." Issues currently before the American people were substantially the same as issues then concerning "political men" in Italy and France.[75] If the writer had drawn a blueprint for the conduct of the Senate debate, he could hardly have succeeded more accurately in anticipating the course which that discussion would take, nor the points which would be made.

The debate opened with Senator Theodore Fitz Randolph's objection to the changes made in the House version of the amendment; these were the changes urged by Hayes, which removed the final clause of the House version. Randolph declared that everyone in the country had praised the amendment, as originally submitted, for its force, validity, and efficacy, but now it had received a sanction that

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[72] *Ibid.*

[73] The remark was made by Senator Eli Saulsbury of Delaware. *Congressional Record,* Forty-fourth Congress, 1st session, IV^6, 5246.

[74] *Ibid.,* 5357.

[75] William T. Sherman Papers, George P. Marsh to Sherman, August 7, 1876. The issues then concerning "political men" are ably summarized in Raymond Corrigan's *The Church and the Nineteenth Century* (Milwaukee, 1938), pp. 223-224.

"clearly disturbed and surprised some of the members of this body who are not democrats."[76] Senator Frelinghuysen defended the amendments made by the Senate committee; these were, in fact, in harmony with the ideas of Hayes. The amendment, as reconstituted, would prohibit any aid from going to any school, educational, or other institution under the management of any religious or anti-religious group, but it would not prohibit the reading of the Bible in the schools, nor would it impair property rights already vested. Congress should be empowered, in the usual enabling clause, to provide by appropriate legislation for the prevention and punishment of infractions of this article.[77] Frelinghuysen insisted that the additions were made in answer to public demand, and embarked upon a panegyric on religion as he conceived that it ought to be taught in the United States:

> That pure and undefiled religion which appertains to the relationship and responsibility of man to God, and is readily distinguishable from the creeds of sects; that religion which permeates all our laws, which is recognized in every sentence against crime and immorality, which is invoked in every oath, which is reverentially deferred to every morning at that desk and on like occasions at the capitol of every State of the Union; that religion which is recognized by our Presidents and governors every year in the Thanksgivings of the people . . .; that religion which is our history, which is our unwritten as well as our written law, and which sustains the pillars of our liberty, is a very, very different thing from the particular creeds or tenets of either religionists or infidels.[78]

Frelinghuysen was obviously supposed to place the Senate debate on a high moral plane, and implement the wishes of the presidential candidate. His fellow senators, however, were equally experienced in political maneuvers, and one of them rose to point out that the United States government was left free, under the terms of the proposed amendment, to give away any amount of public land to corporations, to build railroads, but could not give any contributions to Bishop Whipple for an Indian school or church.[79] This argument came uncomfortably close to the agitation of the preceding session of Congress, and was certainly an oblique reference to the allegations made at that time against Blaine. Blaine's ambitions, in the meantime, had received a severe shock from Democratic investigations of congressional interest in railroad stock.

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[76] *Congressional Record,* Forty-fourth Congress, 1st session, IV^6, 5454, August 11, 1876.

[77] *Ibid.*, 5562, August 14, 1876.

[78] *Ibid.*

[79] *Ibid.*, 5581. The charge was made by Senator Francis Kernan, in obvious reference to the assistance which Grant's government was then giving the efforts of Protestant Episcopal Bishop Henry B. Whipple to establish schools and missions among the Indians.

Less subtle in its statement, but equally cogent in its reasoning, was the observation of Senator William Pinkney Whyte. The amendment was proposed in response to an "ephemeral popular demand," he averred, and constituted almost an accusation against a large body of fellow citizens as loyal to republican liberty as were the senators.[80] This statement provoked Edmunds to a question: had Whyte ever read the "mandate" ordinarily called the encyclical letter and the syllabus of errors promulgated by the "Holy Pontiff" on this precise subject? "Yes," said Whyte, "but 1864 is not 1876 by a long shot." "It lacks twelve years of it," rejoined Edmunds. "And," answered Whyte, "a good many things which people did in 1864 they do not do to-day, I am happy to add."[81]

This delightful exchange was continued when Edmunds inquired whether the papal attitude of 1864 had been modified, and Whyte informed him that it had, adducing in proof the pastoral letter of John B. Purcell, Archbishop of Cincinnati, on the subject of the schools.[82] Purcell was not the pope, however, and Edmunds expressed some skepticism at the authority of the archbishop. Whyte answered: "But Archbishop Purcell, I suppose, would not speak in opposition to the desires of the Pope —" Edmunds interrupted with, "I don't know," and Whyte finished: "Any more than some gentlemen here speak in opposition to the will of the Republican party."[83]

Coming from an avowed Irish Protestant, this was probably as strong a defense as Catholics could hope to achieve. It was quite obviously a defense dictated largely by party interests, but that made it no less valuable at the time, and no less striking an evidence of the purely partisan character of the entire debate. Senator Christiancy, from party motives, too, it would seem, charged that Blaine had drawn up his amendment in such a fashion that it would be certain to accomplish the precise opposite of what it would apparently do. Senator Morton, who had earlier expressed no regret over the loss of Indiana to the Republican ranks, now was fearful of general danger throughout the country if this party proposal were not successful, and especially fearful because the construction to be put upon the amendment might prove decisive as to its effect. "A large body of people in this country, sincere, earnest, and pious," he had no doubt, had condemned and interdicted the public school system of the country, and only an amendment could remedy the situation.[84]

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[80] *Ibid.*, 5583. Whyte was a self-proclaimed Irish Protestant.

[81] *Ibid. Cf.* the unpublished master's dissertation of Sister Agnes Catherine Battersby, S.S.J., "American Public Opinion on the Syllabus Errorum of Pope Pius IX," The Catholic University of America (1952).

[82] This letter was printed in the Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph,* August 10, 1876, and included the archbishop's adjurations to his people to send their children to Catholic schools, as well as his assurance that Catholics did not oppose public schools for non-Catholics. The position of Catholics, he insisted, was that they should be guaranteed the right to maintain schools for their own children where they could be taught according to their own standards of religious belief.

[83] *Congressional Record,* IV^6, 5583.

The debate ranged into other fields; Edmunds caused portions of the *Syllabus of Errors* to be read, and Senator Lewis V. Bogy of Missouri—another state lost to the Republicans in 1874—charged Edmunds with using the principle of religious liberty as a substitute for the "bloody shirt" appeals of earlier sessions of Congress. Bogy felt that Edmunds could play the part of an infallible pope better than anyone. "Infallibility is a part of his nature," Bogy charged, "and of this fact he appears to be profoundly convinced."[85] The real difficulty, as Bogy saw it, was that the Republicans were using the amendment as a means of arousing feeling against the Democrats, who were made to appear dependent upon Catholics for success. The attitude of the Republicans was, in this respect, short-sighted, for, demanded Bogy, "where will the members of that church go, after such sentiments as have been proclaimed on this floor?"[86]

Senator John W. Stevenson felt that the amendment was objectionable on constitutional grounds, as giving the national government more power than it had possessed after the Constitutional Convention. He, too, saw in the proposal an attempt to conceal the real issues of the election soon to take place.[87] As for Senator William Wallace

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[84] *Ibid.*, 5584.

[85] *Ibid.*, 5589. Bogy also asked: "Does the Pope of Rome speak to the Catholic world as the king of Rome? He speaks to the Catholic world as the bishop of that church, speaking to them alone in the religious aspect."

[86] *Ibid.*, 5590.

[87] *Ibid.*, 5589.

Eaton of Connecticut, the entire proposal and debate appeared to him to be only an "election dodge." Some objection was raised to this expression, and Eaton was asked whether he had forgotten that the amendment had been sent to the Senate from the Democratic House of Representatives. "Not this 'creetur'," answered Eaton. "This whole business originated with the Hon. James G. Blaine. Did you ever hear of him? It was one of his dodges to get a nomination, and I wish he had got it. I have been sorry ever since that he did not; and you have been glad ever since."[88] Even Morton admitted that the proposal had been framed for political purposes,[89] but Morton, though a Republican, was a Stalwart, while Blaine was a leader of the Half-Breeds. Senator Eli Saulsbury had to remind his confrères that the bill had come to them from a Republican president and congressmen, but even then he could not assure it sufficient support for passage, and it was defeated through failure to secure more than a simple majority.[90]

Although this defeat of the Blaine amendment was to prove decisive —all later attempts to reconsider it and vote favorably upon it being unsuccessful—the political leaders who had been concerned with its composition and progress remained interested in the matter. There was at stake, after all, the continued existence and success of the Republican Party, as well as the individual position of each party leader to cause continued interest. The campaign was then entering upon its final and most crucial stage. Republican leaders were concerned over the possibility that their followers in the southern states would continue to be torn into fractions.[91] Ohio and Indiana were still regarded as doubtfully Republican areas, particularly because the Democrats had made strenuous efforts to win German votes.[92] As the national chairman of the Republican Party wrote to Hayes:

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[88] *Ibid.*, 5592.

[89] *Ibid.*, 5594.

[90] *Ibid.*

[91] Grant Papers. James N. Tyner, Postmaster General, to Grant, August 31, 1876. Tyner informed Grant that "the Republicans in all the southern states are torn into factions, and entertain towards each other the bitterest hostility."

[92] Hayes Papers, E. D. Morgan to Hayes, September 23, 1876. John Sherman Papers, J. Q. Smith to Sherman, October 18, 1876; Charles P. Conant, of the Treasury Department, to J. L. Evans, of Noblesville, Indiana, September 26, 1876.

> The registration is large. The naturalization is also large. Frauds will be attempted, as they were in Indiana. I believe we shall be prepared to stop them. If we prevent them, we are safe.[93]

Since this letter was sent to Hayes from Ohio, it is evident that the original motives which had caused the Blaine amendment to be proposed were still operative in the closing days of the campaign of 1876. Morgan returned to New York from Ohio, and informed Hayes of the measures which had been resorted to by Democrats in the South, to prevent Republicans from voting there. Morgan admitted, however, that the Republican Party had "sought to entrench the Free School system behind a constitutional amendment. The Democrats, by refusing to support any effective provisions therefor, have thus far defeated it."[94] This was an able analysis of the maneuvering which had been involved in the recent congressional session, even though it was contained in only a couple of sentences.

The result of the election in November was the victory of Hayes, though only after such procedural and constitutional difficulties as the country has never experienced at any other time. The current of nativism was running too strongly, however, to be diverted into quieter channels by the election returns. In the same month when the campaign managers were most anxiously employed in counting up potential votes, Benjamin Harrison, who was to succeed Hayes after two other presidents, received an esoteric document which named him "provincial governor of Indiana," and assured him of membership in an anonymous organization devoted to the "resistance to the encroachments of Romanism and injurious foreign influences." Harrison endorsed this remarkable communication on November 6, 1876: "I *utterly* disapprove."[95]

Harrison was then engaged in a gubernatorial campaign in the crucial State of Indiana, but was not successful. About a week after his rejection of the invitation to belong to the "sHbLtPlAf," Harrison's party chief—Grant—received the first of a series of communications from John Tyler, Jr. Writing from Raleigh, North Carolina, and later from Washington, Tyler tried to enlist the interest of Grant, of Solicitor General Alphonso Taft, and of Hayes in vigorous action to oppose the doctrines of the Democrats. Tyler's charges were themselves forcefully expressed, and summarized rather effectively the anti-Catholic attitude exhibited throughout the preceding months. The Democrats, he contended, were directed by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, in connection with Tilden. These combined forces had tried to "wrest the Government of the United States from the hands of the Republican party, and from under the Protestant influences in support of that party." The indictment continued with an attempt to show a connection between Russia and the Catholic Church, in opposition to Bismarck. Then, as though the Jesuits had not been injected into the argument recently enough to satisfy him, Tyler declared:

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[93] Hayes Papers (photostat), Morgan to Hayes, October 21, 1876.

[94] *Ibid.*, October 24, 1876.

[95] Benjamin Harrison Papers. Harrison also noted that he had received the document during the campaign, but could not return it as he had wanted to do because it was anonymous.

> The mind of the Jesuit is equally subtle and far-reaching. From my long familiarity with the Catholic movements in the United States, . . . I ought to understand the policy and designs of the Catholic Hierarchy at the present juncture, disguised as it has been, and I state only that of which I am convinced.[96]

Tyler wrote again, within a week, to reiterate these charges, and to declare that the Democratic movement was a "Concerted combination between the Catholics and the Democrats—the Jesuits and the Klu Klux—Jesuitically planned with all the subtle deviltry of the serpent, and attempted to be executed through the instrumentality of an all-pervading secret organization, alike remorseless and inexorable, in view of the object."[97] Tyler was sure that Catholic priests had poured money into Mr. Tilden's coffers like water; he was equally sure that Sherman was a Catholic, and that he should immediately be removed as General of the Army, so that Hayes' life would be safe in case of an insurrection against him and on behalf of Tilden.[98]

If Tyler's information concerning Sherman was no more accurate than this, it is not surprising that his alarm at the machinations of the Catholic hierarchy, or of members of the Society of Jesus, should have evoked no more attention than they did. There is no evidence that his charges were taken at all seriously, although Taft did acknowledge the receipt of his letters. A final testimony to the effect of the Blaine amendment on the campaign of 1876, and to the bitterness of the religious feelings it had aroused or caused to be expressed, was included in Hayes' own first message to Congress. That message conveyed a recommendation for "an amendment to the constitution of the United States, prohibiting the use of money raised by public taxation, for the support of sectarian schools."[99] As has already been noted, no such proposal has ever succeeded in securing the necessary two-thirds majority in each chamber of Congress.

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[96] Hayes Papers. Tyler to Grant, November 13, 1876.

[97] *Ibid.,* November 19, 1876.

[98] *Ibid.,* Tyler to Alphonso Taft, November 27, 1876.

The Blaine amendment, then, had failed of each of its purposes. It had not brought about the reform in the administration of educational funds in the states which it was designed to do; it had failed to advance the political career of Blaine, and it had certainly done nothing to further the fortunes of Hayes. It had called attention to difficulties in the Republican and Democratic Parties alike, but had made division within and between these parties much deeper and more unbridgeable than ever. It had not introduced nativism, because that unlovely sentiment already existed in many parts of the country, but it had inflamed the anti-Catholic, anti-foreign, anti-Negro passions of many persons in the United States. In short, an amendment which had been suggested for purely political reasons, and for political reasons almost entirely private, had dangerously weakened both the political party and the political leader who were its sponsors.

The Catholic University of America

[99] *Ibid.;* handwritten copy in folder labelled message of 1877.

GREETINGS TO THE ASSOCIATION

By

Amleto G. Cicognani*

I feel highly honored to have a part in your meeting and I thank you for your kind invitation. As dedicated scholars you discuss subjects intensely interesting to Church and country. Your American Catholic Historical Association with its noble purposes and extensive activity has utmost importance for the Church.

History has the inherent duty of presenting an objective picture of the past by collecting and reporting facts and events as they happened without *opiniones praejudicatae* or *idola* as Bacon of Verulam called them. In a word, history must be impartial. Suspicion may fall on a historical society, whose members are united in religious faith, as unqualified to be entirely objective in recording and interpreting facts. Such suspicion would be unjustified in the case of your organization. Although history deals with facts, it is not to be reduced simply to their registration. This science seeks to penetrate facts, to touch life itself, to find, and to understand motives and reasons that underlie occurrences, thus entering very often the sphere of philosophy, and even theology if necessary. As St. Augustine points out in his great work, *De Civitate Dei,* only in the light of revelation can the human person be fully understood and his activities evaluated in relation to events and times. Under this aspect the Catholic historian, aided as he is by the light of revelation, has a distinct advantage in his efforts to present true history.

On September 7, 1955, addressing the Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences, the Holy Father stressed the Church's awareness of the historical importance of her mission. His Holiness pointed out that the Church, a historical fact, well understands and appreciates her own structure and her power of expansion among nations. She realizes that her position is unique in history, for she was founded by the God-Man Who endowed her with an energy not exhausted by human contingencies, Who confided to her revealed truths and Who favored her with His divine presence. These divine sources of vitality, that have aroused multitudes of people to Christian living, constitute the Church a historical fact without counterpart, whose proper understanding requires orientation with the things of God. While remaining unchanged in structure and constitution, the Church in her expansion marvelously adapts herself to all peoples and cultures; while fostering truth and beauty, art and science, the Church does not identify herself with any culture but brings to all the truth and grace of God. Pope Pius XII compared the Church to a range of mountains extending through the past 2,000 years and spreading over surrounding persons and events the stirring spirit of the grace and love of God. In this atmosphere history has been made.

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* The address of His Excellency, the Apostolic Delegate to the United States, was made at the luncheon conference at the Hotel Mayflower, Washington, December 29, 1955, at which he presided.

What is true for the old world applies also to the United States. Your Association appreciates the inspiration, impetus, and motivation that the Church gives to facts and events in this country. Such influence must be recognized and evaluated by impartial historians. For example, how can we record and appreciate acts of saints and apostles, monasticism or religious orders, if we prescind from the Church or minimize her influence? Some facts can be explained by a purely economic or materialistic concept of history, but what explanation can such a concept of history offer for the lives of men like Junípero Serra and Magin Català? Faith in the Gospels has co-operated in producing our civilization, so the genuine historian cannot neglect this faith. God is in history; His creatures created for Him make history, so He cannot remain extraneous. Through history, despite strifes, obstacles, and opposition, God attains the goal of His creation. Realization of God's supreme purpose motivates the Church in her efforts to co-operate in His plan. These efforts to a great extent have been responsible for the erection of churches, schools, orphanages, hospitals, and other charitable institutions for social assistance. In the United States the effects of this work for God are outstanding; and history must record them for what they really are, external manifestations of devotion to a cause, the cause of God.

Creditably have some American Catholics, priests and lay, dedicated their talents to the study of American Church history. Important books and publications have been produced by distinguished historians of your Association. The history of the American Church is a study that should be emphasized and developed, especially in our Catholic colleges and seminaries. Catholic historians have in this growing country a fertile field for their endeavors, for Catholic history is being made here and must be recorded about every diocese, cathedral, seminary, university, religious institution, and promoter of religion. Some of this story has already been written by eminent historians living and dead; but how much remains to be said! May God bless your fruitful studies, your high aims, and all of you, the members of the American Catholic Historical Association, and may He enlighten and strengthen you for the task that lies ahead.

MISCELLANY

THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 28-30, 1955

The Association's thirty-sixth annual meeting was held at the Hotel Mayflower in Washington simultaneously with the seventieth annual meeting of the American Historical Association and its affiliated societies. It was the consensus of all in attendance that it had been one of the best meetings in years. There was a registration of 152 members which was twenty-three above the number who had registered in New York the previous year.

The Executive Council convened at a luncheon conference on December 28 with First Vice-President Halecki in the chair, since President Abell had been unavoidably delayed in reaching Washington. The same afternoon the annual business meeting was held, with President Abell presiding. The report of the treasurer, Monsignor Cartwright, noted that the Association had over $1,000 more in its cash balance than at the same time a year before, and the report of the secretary, Monsignor Ellis, made known the fact that there were at the close of the year's business 1,012 members, the highest in the Association's history. Professor Clingman, chairman of the Committee on Nominations, also read the report of his committee on the new officers and committee members for 1956. A special feature of the business meeting on December 28 was the paper of Professor A. Paul Levack of Fordham University on "The European History Survey Course in the Catholic College," which touched off so lively a discussion that it continued for over an hour and a half, and resulted in the appointment of a continuing committee which was requested to gather fuller data on the subject and report to the business meeting in St. Louis in December of this year. Dr. Russell E. Planck of Seton Hall University was appointed chairman of the committee to conduct this survey.

On Thursday, December 29, the presidential luncheon was held in the Chinese Room and was attended by 146, one of the largest crowds to assemble for an Association luncheon in many years. The Most Reverend Amleto G. Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, presided and gave a brief address, the text of which may be read in this issue of the REVIEW. Vice-President Halecki proved to be a spirited chairman of the luncheon conference. Besides extending the gratitude of the members to Archbishop Cicognani for the honor done the Association by his presence, Professor Halecki announced that there were present eight former presidents, a record attendance which was signalized by their presence at a special table. The ex-presidents included Carlton J. H. Hayes (1931), Daniel Sargent (1936), Marshall W. Baldwin (1941), Martin R. P. McGuire (1942), Friedrich Engel-Janosi (1947), A. Paul Levack (1951), Raymond J. Sontag (1952), and John T. Farrell (1953). After the luncheon was concluded the chairman called on Father Henry A. Callahan, S.J., of Boston College, who made the announcement in the name of the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize. The award for 1955 went to Mrs. Annabelle M. Melville for her volume, *John Carroll of Baltimore. The Founder of the American Catholic Hierarchy* (New York, 1955). Mrs. Melville was present and received the award from the hands of the Apostolic Delegate. Following the presentation of the Shea Prize the chairman introduced President Abell who then read his presidential address entitled, "American Catholic Reaction to Industrial Conflict: The Arbitral Process, 1885-1900," the text of which appeared in the January, 1956, issue of the REVIEW.

Immediately following the luncheon the joint session of the Association with the American Historical Association was held on the general theme, "The Christian Missions: A Reappraisal." The two papers were read by Professor John T. Farrell of the Catholic University of America on "Imperialism and the Christian Missions" and by Dr. R. Pierce Beaver of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago on "Nationalism and the Missions in the Orient." The discussion leaders were Harold C. Hinton of Georgetown University and M. Searle Bates of the Union Theological Seminary. The joint session drew a large crowd of around 150 interested listeners.

The final session of the thirty-sixth annual meeting took place on Friday morning, December 30, when Dr. Carlton J. H. Hayes acted as chairman for a discussion of the general topic, "The Papacy and the Intellectual Life." The two papers were read by Professor Marshall W. Baldwin of New York University on "The Intellectual Role of the Papacy in Medieval Times," and by Father Philip Hughes of the University of Notre Dame on "The Intellectual Role of the Papacy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." Unfortunately, the room originally assigned which accommodated only seventy-five, proved altogether too small and the session had to be transferred to the Williamsburg Room which the crowd of approximately 200 filled almost to capacity. But the loss of time involved in the transfer, and the fact that the Williamsburg Room had to be vacated by eleven-thirty, forced the chairman to close the session before the remarks of the two discussion leaders of the papers, Fathers Lowrie J. Daly, S.J., of Saint Louis University, and Joseph S. Brusher, S.J., of Loyola University, Los Angeles, could be heard.

The thirty-seventh annual meeting will be held in St. Louis in December 1956, in conjunction with the annual gathering of the American Historical Association and the societies which customarily meet at the same time. The reports of the Association's officers and committees for 1955 follow.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Financial statement from December 15, 1954, to December 15, 1955

ACCOUNT I—GENERAL FUND

Investments—December 15, 1954				$6,855.94
Cash on hand—December 15, 1954			$ 7,122.42	
Receipts:				
Annual dues		$ 6,658.30		
Income from investments		449.30		
Donations to annual meeting expenses		430.00		
Receipts for year			7,537.60	
Total receipts			$14,660.02	$6,855.94
Disbursements:				
Office expenses:				
Rent of office and telephone service	$ 74.38			
Supplies and sundry	245.75			
Secretary's salary	1,381.37	1,701.50		
Annual meeting expenses—1954		542.78		
John Gilmary Shea Prize		200.00		
Catholic Historical Review		3,993.00		
Exchange on checks		.15		
Checks returned		14.00		
Academy of American Franciscan History for survey of American Catholic materials in Austrian Archives		50.00		
Contribution to J. Franklin Jameson Fund for plaque in National Archives		25.00	6,526.43	
Balance on hand—December 15, 1955			$ 8,133.59	
Investments—December 15, 1955				$6,855.94

ACCOUNT II—REVOLVING ACCOUNT

Publication of Documents

Cash on hand—December 15, 1954		$2,128.54
Receipts:		
Stock, *United States Ministers to the Papal States*	$ 61.50	
Stock, *Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States*	56.90	118.40
Disbursements:		
None		
Balance on hand—December 15, 1955		$2,246.94

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SUMMARY

Investments—Account I		$6,855.94
Cash on hand:		
Account I	$ 8,133.59	
Account II	2,246.94	
	$10,380.53	

INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS

Interest:		
Morris and Essex	$ 70.00	
New York Central and Hudson River R.R.	70.00	$ 140.00
Dividends:		
Bank of America	$148.80	
Montana Power	80.00	
Public Service Company of New Hampshire	80.50	309.30
		$ 449.30

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT, *Treasurer*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

President: Oscar Halecki, Fordham University
First Vice-President: Thomas H. D. Mahoney, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Second Vice-President: Gerald E. Dupont, S.S.E., St. Michael's College, Winooski Park

Treasurer: John K. Cartwright, St. Matthew's Cathedral, Washington
Secretary: John Tracy Ellis, The Catholic University of America
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Committee on Nominations:
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  Mother Jane Miller, R.S.C.J., San Francisco College for Women
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Committee on Program:
  Martin J. Lowery, De Paul University, *Chairman*
  Daniel D. McGarry, Saint Louis University
  James P. Shannon, College of St. Thomas.
Committee for the John Gilmary Shea Prize (for three-year term):
  George J. Undreiner, Pontifical College Josephinum

Respectfully submitted,

COMMITTEE OF NOMINATIONS, 1955

LEWIS B. CLINGMAN,
  Aquinas College, Grand Rapids, *Chairman*
JOHN P. McGOWAN, C.M.,
  Mary Immaculate Seminary
AGNES RENNER,
  St. Ambrose College

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

In view of the fact that we have a special feature at our business meeting this year in a paper that will deal with a subject of practical concern to all of us, I intend to make this report as brief as possible so that I will not encroach any more than is necessary on the time allotted for Professor Levack's paper and for the discussion which, we hope, it will evoke.

First, in keeping with the spirit of the Christmastide I bring you good news. The membership in the Association has climbed from the 992 of a year ago to 1,012, the largest number we have ever enrolled. The breakdown is as follows:

Membership, December 15, 1954	..	992
Resignations	38	..
Deaths	3	..
Delinquents	57	98
		894

Renewals	13	..
New members	105	118
Membership, December 15, 1955		1,012

The gain of twenty over the 1954 total is to be explained principally by the fact that this year we have had only fifty-seven delinquents whereas during 1954 we suffered a loss of 105 in that category. There likewise have been brought in during the past twelve months 105 new members as against only eighty-nine the year before. And may I at this point express our special thanks to those veteran members who during the year now closing have demonstrated their very practical loyalty to the Association in the best of ways by recruiting new members for our ranks? While speaking of the increased membership I might observe that the wonder drugs apparently work for historians, too, since the three deaths recorded during the year is the lowest figure that has been reported for any year since your secretary took office in 1941. You will, I know, remember in your Masses and prayers the three members who were called in death during 1955. They were Father Valentine J. Fandrey, Monsignor Edward F. Hawks, and Mr. Clarence E. Martin. May their souls rest in peace! That our growth has been a solid one is illustrated by the fact that a decade ago the secretary reported 751 members for 1945, a figure 261 below our membership at the present time. The names and addresses of the new members are as follows:

Sister Mary Agnes, 2250 Williamsbridge Road, Bronx 69, New York
Reverend Luis Medina Ascensio, S.J., Montezuma Seminary, Montezuma, New Mexico
Sister M. Aurelia, O.P., Edgewood College of the Sacred Heart, Madison, Wisconsin
Mr. Alfred J. Bakewicz, 3844 South 18th Street, Milwaukee 15, Wisconsin
Mr. Donald P. Banas, 674 West 36th Street, San Pedro, California
Reverend Ervin Bauer, S.V.D., 1325 Quincy Street, N.E., Washington 17, D. C.
Dom Wilfrid Bayne, O.S.B., Portsmouth Priory, Portsmouth, Rhode Island
Very Reverend Canon Bernard Bogan, Saint George's Cathedral House, Westminster Bridge Road, Southward, S.E. 1, England
Mother Mary Louise Bourret, Barat College of the Sacred Heart, Lake Forest, Illinois
Reverend Vincent P. Brennan, 5322 Carnegie Avenue, Pittsburgh 1, Pennsylvania
Mr. Donald P. Brice, North American College, Via del Gianicolo 12, Città del Vaticano
Mr. Francis L. Broderick, Dunbar Hall, Front Street, Exeter, New Hampshire
Private Joseph Charles Burke, R.A. 15525186, Hq. 7, Hq. Btry. 68AAA. G.P., APO 949, Seattle, Washington
Reverend Lawrence P. Cahill, Borromeo Seminary, Wickliffe, Ohio
Reverend Thomas F. Casey, Via del 'Umiltà 30, C.P. 440, Rome, Italy
Sister Michael Catherine, 170 Grosse Pointe Boulevard, Grosse Pointe 36, Michigan
Sister M. Christiana, I.H.M., Immaculate Heart College, Los Angeles 27, California

Mr. Thomas A. Clinch, Carroll College, Helena, Montana
Reverend James B. Clyne, 241 S. Detroit Street, Los Angeles 36, California
Right Reverend Cyril C. Cowderoy, Bishop's House, St. George's Road, Southwark, S.E. 1, England
Sister Agnes Aurelia Cronin, C.C.V.I., 2006 North Houston Street, Fort Worth 6, Texas
Reverend Sebastian Crow, O.S.B., Marmion Abbey, Aurora, Illinois
Reverend Edward Day, C.SS.R., 97 rue de la Brabanconne, Louvain, Belgium
Reverend Edmund Delaney, S.A., St. John's Seminary, Montour Falls, New York
Sister John Dominici, O.P., 845 North Van Buren Street, Milwaukee 2, Wisconsin
Most Reverend Henry E. Donnelly, 4151 Seminole, Detroit 14, Michigan
Reverend Bernard Doyon, O.M.I., 285 Oblate Drive, San Antonio 12, Texas
Reverend Elmeric Dubois, M.S., La Salette Seminary, Attleboro, Massachusetts
Most Reverend Joseph A. Durick, 714 Fourth Court West, Birmingham 4, Alabama
Mr. Edward E. Eshelman, 316 West Race Street, Troy, Ohio
Mr. Peter K. Ewald, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, New York
Miss Maria Ewing, 1750 M Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.
Reverend Vincent J. Fecher, S.V.D., St. Mary's Mission House, Techny, Illinois
Most Reverend Edward A. Fitzgerald, 275 Harriet Street, Winona, Minnesota (life member)
Mr. John R. Fitzpatrick, 5300 Lansdowne, Saint Louis 9, Missouri
Reverend Oderic Foley, O.F.M.Conv., St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, New York
Mr. Walter D. Gray, 341 O'Shaughnessy Hall, Notre Dame, Indiana
Mother Marguerite Green, Barat College of the Sacred Heart, Lake Forest, Illinois
Mr. Mario A. Gualdoni, 5435 Elizabeth Avenue, Saint Louis 10, Missouri
Reverend Paul J. Hallinan, 2099 Abington Road, Cleveland 6, Ohio
Mr. Benedict M. Holden, Jr., 750 Main Street, Hartford, Connecticut
Mr. Paul Horgan, ½ Park Road, Roswell, New Mexico
Reverend Philip Hughes, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana
Reverend Mark J. Hurley, Bishop O'Dowd High School, 9500 Stearns Avenue, Oakland 5, California
Mr. John C. Immer, American College, Louvain, Belgium
Sister Grace Louise Joy, Ladycrest, Maryknoll Sisters Novitiate, Topsfield, Massachusetts
Sister M. Justine, O.S.F., 1900 South Ashland Avenue, Chicago 8, Illinois
Reverend William Kane, S.V.D., St. Francis Xavier Seminary, Island Creek, Massachusetts
Reverend Gentil Katowski, O.F.M., St. Joseph's Seminary, Westmont, Illinois
Mr. Robert H. Kelley, 2516 Commonwealth Avenue, Houston 6, Texas
Reverend John H. Kennedy, O.M.I., 391 Michigan Avenue, N.E., Washington 17, D. C.
Dr. Michael J. Laffan, La Mennais College, Alfred, Maine
Reverend Louis J. Lekai, S.O.Cist., N. Davis Road, East Aurora, New York
Reverend Joseph Lekan, S.M., 3021 Kingsbridge Avenue, New York 63, New York
Mr. Edward F. Leonard, 70 Marble Hill Avenue, Apartment 5F, Bronx 63, New York
Mr. Don G. McCormick, 304 W. Riverside Drive, Carlsbad, New Mexico
Mr. John A. McDonald, 1718 Simpson Place, Saint Louis 4, Missouri
Reverend John H. McDonnell, O.S.A., Archbishop John Carroll High School, Washington 17, D. C.
Sister Anna Madeleine, 75 Demarest Avenue, Englewood, New Jersey

Reverend William J. Maguire, C.S.Sp., Holy Ghost Fathers, Ferndale, Norwalk, Connecticut
Sister Joanna Marie, S.V.M., Maryknoll College, 1504 Pennsylvania Avenue, Manila, Philippine Islands
Mr. Otto S. Marx, King's College, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania
Sister Mary Ignatius Meany, C.S.J., Brentwood College, Brentwood, Long Island, New York
Reverend Joseph Menker, O.M.I., 5901 W. Main Street, Belleville, Illinois
Sister M. Mercia, O.P., Albertus Magnus College, New Haven, Connecticut
Sister M. Monica, Ad.PP.S., 3100 McCormick Avenue, Wichita 13, Kansas
A/2c James J. Morrison, A.F. 13-758-607, Box 94, 6319th Field Maintenance Squadron, APO 334, San Francisco, California
Sister M. Alpheus Murphy, C.C.V.I., Saint Mary's Academy, 1112 Washington Street, Amarillo, Texas
Reverend Isidore Nahagewsky, 2221 South Seventh Street, Camden 5, New Jersey
Sister M. Kateri Nicolaus, I.H.M., 110 Anstice Street, Oyster Bay, New York
Mr. Bernard Norling, 1717 Dale Avenue, South Bend 14, Indiana
Mr. James A. O'Connell, 121 Van Orden Avenue, Leonia, New Jersey
Mr. Maurice R. O'Connell, Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania
Dr. Margaret M. O'Dwyer, Loyola University, 820 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 11, Illinois
Reverend Andrew J. O'Reilly, 16 Barclay Street, New York 7, New York
Mother Dorothy Parton, Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, Purchase, New York
Colonel Robert M. Patterson, 1241 Canyon Road, Santa Fe, New Mexico
Reverend Aloysius Plaisance, O.S.B., St. Bernard College, St. Bernard, Alabama
Very Reverend Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M., Christ the King Seminary, St. Bonaventure, New York
Professor Russell E. Planck, 5 Birchwood Drive, East Paterson, New Jersey
Dr. John J. Reardon, 6118 North Sheridan Road, Chicago 40, Illinois
Mother M. Redman, San Diego College for Women, San Diego 10, California
Reverend Maurice F. Reidy, S.J., College of the Holy Cross, Worcester 3, Massachusetts
Reverend Andrew Rentko, S.V.D., St. Joseph Mission Seminary, Bordentown, New Jersey
Reverend Francis J. Rigney, College for Men, Box 1578, San Diego 10, California
Mr. John K. Riley, 16 North Main Street, Adams, New York
Reverend Francis A. Rouleau, S.J., Box 143, Baguio City, Philippine Islands
Mr. Mathew F. Ruppert, North American College, Via del Gianicolo 12, Città del Vaticano
St. Andrew's Seminary, 1150 Buffalo Road, Rochester 11, New York
Mr. John J. Scanlan, American College, Louvain, Belgium
Mr. Karl M. Schmitt, Niagara University, Niagara, New York
C.W.O. George A. Schneider, Umpire HQ. "Sage Brush," Langley A/F Base, Virginia
Mr. William G. Schofield, 146 Crafts Street, Newtonville 60, Massachusetts
Miss Marie Louise Schulte, 3801 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 8, D. C.
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Right Reverend Robert J. Sherry, St. Gregory Seminary, 6616 Beechmont Avenue, Cincinnati 30, Ohio
Reverend Richard J. Sisk, S.J., Fordham University, New York 58, New York
Professor Wilfred J. Steiner, University of Dayton, Dayton 9, Ohio
Mr. Richard E. Sullivan, 329 Wildwood Drive, East Lansing, Michigan

Sister M. Philip Trauth, S.N.D., Villa Madonna College, 116 E. 12th Street, Covington, Kentucky
Reverend Robert F. Trisco, Collegio S. Maria del Lago, Via Sardegna 44, Rome, Italy
Mr. Anthony F. Turhollow, Department of History, Loyola University, Los Angeles 45, California
Mr. William G. Tyrrell, 34 Winthrop Avenue, Albany 3, New York
Reverend Denis P. Wall, Bishop's House, St. George's Road, Southwark, S.E. 1, England
Reverend Robert J. White, 8 Parcher Avenue, Old Orchard, Maine

Matters have also gone well for our quarterly journal during the past year with the subscriptions having increased from 477 in 1954 to our current total of 496. Last summer the editors deliberately cut back the number of exchanges for reasons of economy so that total is now 117 as against 151 a year ago. The CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW is now going out to 1,625 persons and institutions, an over-all increase of 417 from the 1,208 reported to you ten years ago this time. During the past twelve months the editors have received twenty-five manuscripts in all, two more than during 1954. Of these five have either already appeared or will appear in the issue of January, 1956; four have been accepted for future issues; one is as yet undecided, and fifteen were rejected. This year marked an improvement in quality of the articles submitted, and it was by reason of the exceedingly cramped space of 128 pages per issue—to which we must adhere for financial reasons—that we were compelled to decline several good articles that ran well beyond the limit of thirty typed pages which we have set.

I do not wish to burden you with too many statistics, but I am anxious that you should have in your possession some facts to illustrate how the rise in prices has effected the operation of the Association and its quarterly journal during the past five years. I shall confine myself to two brief sets of figures: first, the printing costs for the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW from 1951 up to and including 1955; secondly, the expenses incurred by the annual meetings, the chief item of which, it should be noted, is again for printing. The annual printing bills for the REVIEW during the past five years have been as follows:

1951	$4,358.58
1952	4,606.71
1953	4,902.57
1954	5,001.93
1955	5,160.17

In other words, the Association has paid out in five years the sum of $24,029.96 for the printing of its quarterly with the costs rising steadily to the point where for 1955 it cost over $800 more than it did in 1951 for printing exactly the same sized journal. The expenses for the annual meeting reveal the same story:

	Expenses	*Taken in at Meeting*	*Differential*
*1950	$141.81	$128.82	—$12.99
1951	542.74	543.28	+ .54
1952	436.41	362.51	— 73.90
1953	461.58	392.00	— 69.58
1954	542.78	430.00	—112.78
	$2,125.32	$1,896.41	$268.37

It is a characteristic of Americans that they like to know how their money is spent, and I take it for granted that historians are no exception to their fellow countrymen in this respect. It is for that reason that I have tabulated the above figures so that you will all have a better understanding of the necessity for retaining the present $7.00 membership dues and, too, for charging a registration fee of $1.00 per person at our annual meetings. Let me hasten to say, however, that these statistics are not supplied in consequence of any complaints that have reached the executive office. On the contrary, the support given to the Association by the overwhelming number of its members has left nothing to be desired in generosity, understanding, and loyalty in the face of the rising costs of the past five years.

All things considered, 1955 has been very kind to the Association. Active interest continues in the election of our leaders with 227 ballots returned, which represents an even twenty-five per cent of the membership. While we would be glad if more of the members would avail themselves of their right of franchise, by comparison with other learned societies in this regard we are above average. Competition for the John Gilmary Shea Prize has also kept up and the committee has made the award for this year, announcement of which will be made at the luncheon tomorrow.

It remains, therefore, for me only to thank the officers, the committee members, the authors of the six papers that we will hear during the next three days, and their discussion leaders—all of whom took time and care from their busy lives to lend assistance to our common cause during the past twelve months. I trust that all these kind friends will understand if I shorten the litany to a single heartfelt expression of our gratitude to them. I should like to make two exceptions to the above. First, the members owe more than they realize to the faithful and efficient services of two ladies whose names they may not even know. They are Mrs. Helen A. Boss, my secretary, and Miss Mary Ellen Quill, the secretary of Monsignor Cartwright, our treasurer. Without their aid the Association's secretary and treasurer would probably not make the kind of showing at these annual meetings that has prompted you to continue them in their respective offices! I likewise cannot refrain from the mention of the name of one man who has borne the major burden for this thirty-sixth annual meeting. I refer to Professor Donald R. Penn of Georgetown University. One of the most rewarding of my experiences as secretary during the past fifteen years has been to work with the various program committees to plan our annual gatherings. In no one of those fifteen years have I found more generous, efficient, and intelligent direction of the exacting labors of program-planning than has been true in the case of Professor Penn, and I would be remiss in my duty were I to fail to give public expression to the debt that we all owe to him.

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* The discrepancy for the 1950 figures is explained by the fact that the tickets to the luncheon were handled directly by the hotel and not through the Association's registration desk.

Permit me, then, to close with the customary wish that each and every one of you may enjoy a blessed and prosperous new year, and that when we assemble in St. Louis a year from this week you may again be with us to uphold our hands in the cause that is near and dear to the hearts of every one of us, viz., the solid advance of Catholic historical scholarship in our beloved country.

Respectfully submitted,

John Tracy Ellis, *Secretary.*

BOOK REVIEWS

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Tudor England. By David Harrison. [Two volumes, bound together.] (London: Cassell and Co., Ltd. 1953; New York: MacMillan Co. 1954. Pp. xv, 172; xiii, 204. $14.00.)

David Harrison has given us an excellent narrative history of the Tudor period in England in which he has shown clearly who did what and when. He has provided liberally for the reader who desires notes to enable him to investigate further. And finally he has provided a gallery of over 230 illustrations portraying the chief actors of the period and providing a pictorial survey of the main activities of the people. After a brief introduction of twenty-two pages to the sixteenth century in which he recalls the salient features of mediaeval civilization, he tells the story of Henry VII and the new monarchy, and continues through to the end of Elizabeth I's reign. The work is concluded with an epilogue touching upon Elizabeth's influence on parliament and the constitution, the church and religious discontent, economic and social changes, and finally the Elizabethan cultural renaissance.

All historians of the Tudor period must, among other things, take up three topics which each monarch was forced to deal with: the religious settlement, fiscal policy, and foreign policy. Of the three Dr. Harrison gives fiscal policy such slight consideration that the very significant influence which the crown's struggle to remain solvent had on both the religious settlement and on the conduct of foreign affairs (both of which in turn were so closely allied) is largely forgotten. So important an occurrence as the confiscation of the monasteries is hardly touched upon. Failure to cover this phase of Tudor history adequately is the principal weakness of this otherwise remarkably good history.

On the religious settlement effected during each of the reigns Dr. Harrison writes from the Anglican point of view, and he, therefore, presents sympathetically the attempts of Henry VIII and his followers to establish a church independent of papal authority, and at the same time separate from the Protestant sects. Neither the Tudor Protestants nor the Tudor Catholics approved of the Church which was founded; moreover, they would not have approved of Harrison's attempt to justify their Anglican brethren. The author tells in his preface that this is the first of a series covering the history of England. It is to be hoped that the ensuing volumes attain the excellence of this first installment.

Unfortunately, this book is a saddening reminder of the difficulties faced by publishers in an age of high printing and binding costs. Originally intended as two volumes, it now is two, each with its own pagination and indexing, bound in a single volume. And in spite of the extraordinarily high price the publishers were unable to cover the fine paper used with an equally good binding. The printing on the whole is good, but a few errors remain, e.g., read "consistently loyal" for "consistently royal" (II, 23); "E. Gilson" for "E. Gibson" (II, 29), "was not possible" for "was possible" (II, 86).

William C. McAvoy

Saint Louis University

Robert Estienne. Royal Printer. An Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus. By Elizabeth Armstrong. (Cambridge: At the University Press. 1954. Pp. xxi, 310. $10.00.)

This work provides a full length biographical study of an outstanding Parisian printer of the mid-sixteenth century, who was also an important biblical and classical scholar in his own right. For the more important publications coming from his press, Estienne was usually involved also as editor or compiler. By his assiduous reading of the Latin classics to bring out his capable editions of Plautus, Terence, and others he gained a remarkable knowledge of the language. His Latin dictionary, the *Thesaurus linguae latinae,* first published in 1531, together with his numerous bilingual dictionaries, make him one of the important founders of Latin and French lexicography. His work brought him renown, and he was appointed King's Printer in 1539. His extensive, profitable business made him one of the leading men of the city, as indicated by the author in the fact that in April, 1545, Estienne attended a meeting to deliberate on a loan to the king, appearing as one of the eight most eminent and notable burgesses of his quarter of the city (p. 63).

It was his editions of the Bible which brought on his difficulties with the theologians of the University of Paris, and caused him to leave the city in 1550. Estienne's father, Henry, had published works of Lefèvre d'Etaples. It is interesting to note, although the author does not stress the point, that the matter which seems to have caused the split between Robert Estienne and his stepfather (also a printer), Simon de Colines, was Robert's interest in searching out "ancient and correct manuscripts" of the Bible. Colines did not wish to antagonize the faculty of the University by hinting that there was anything wrong with the "received" text. Lefèvre wrote to Guillaume Farel in July, 1524, praising Robert for his stand (pp. 12-13). In the numerous editions of the Bible brought out by Estienne, beginning in 1527-1528, he added explanatory notes, summaries, and other aids for the reader—from evangelizing, or commercial motives, or both (p. 78). This took him into the field of exegesis which eventually brought him into conflict with the theologians of the University and the *Parlement*. This conflict was delayed until about 1545, by which time the successive editions of his Bible had become more and more radical (p. 205). Henry II finally authorized the condemnation of Estienne's Bibles in November, 1548, and they were also listed in the papal *Index* of 1559 (p. 200).

In 1550 Estienne moved from Paris to Geneva, and set up his business there. Calvin was pleased to have such a capable printer, since other Genevan printers had caused him some embarrassment by their mistakes (p. 229). Estienne remained there until his death in 1559. Mrs. Armstrong leans toward the interpretation that there is no reason for doubting Estienne's acceptance of the Roman Church before his conflict with the University of Paris and removal to Geneva (pp. xx; 206; 260). In this matter, as throughout, she has produced a careful, cautious, and significant book, although one may have doubts as to her interpretation of the earlier religious position of Estienne.

WALTER W. WILKINSON

Georgetown University

The Crime of Galileo. By Giorgio di Santillana. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1955. Pp. xv, 338. $5.75.)

This interpretative essay is an expansion of the author's introduction to the *Dialogue*.* Its thesis is that Galileo's "crime" "lay in having perceived that change in the 'new things' of science could not be so slow as expected" (p. 233). In no sense is it a biography of that great man, for it is as good a court defense as has been briefed. As the work of an *advocatus,* it can be accepted with few reservations, for the author tones down or omits the gravest errors of his hero's rabid admirers Favaro and von Gebler. The uncritical reader of hagiography will look forward to his canonization with confidence. There is a danger, however, that some will accept this *ex parte* polemic as history and, hence, an historical evaluation is necessary. As for the externals of historical scholarship, they are practically non-existent. An index (of proper names only) contains the name of Yeats and a reference to a page which contains no reference to Yeats. There is no bibliography. The footnotes are of very uneven value, or, usually, non-existent. Innuendo, insinuation, and plain double-talk fill the book. The gallant hero on his white horse is shielded from the camera while beset by conspiring figures, either shadowy or hiding behind a rock. The following quotations will suffice to show how the search for truth can be stymied by an effort to prove a thesis. Speaking of the zone between "error" and "heresy," the author says:

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* *Dialogue of the Great World Systems*. By Galileo Galilei. In the Salusbury translation, revised, annotated and equipped with an Historical Introduction by Giorgio de Santillana and an astronomical Note on the Two Systems by W. D. Stahlman. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.)

> Something that is not essential to the faith may not be a heresy *ex parte objecti,* as Bellarmine had said, but it may become a heresy *ex parte dicentis* when maintained in such a way that he who utters it has set his will against the Church. This becomes a matter of intention, however, and what happens in the secret of a man's soul is not easy to determine (p. 229).

What Bellarmine said in his letter of April 12, 1615, is:

> It will not do to say that this is not a matter of faith, because though it may not be a matter of faith *ex parte objecti* or as regards the subject treated, yet it is a matter of faith *ex parte dicentis,* or as regards Him who enounces it. Thus he who should deny that Abraham had two sons and Jacob twelve would be just as much a heretic as a man who should deny the Virgin Birth of Christ, because it is the Holy Spirit who makes known both truths by the mouth of the Prophets and Apostles.

The author fell into the same trap as the peripatetics; he took the "verbal" meaning of the word *dicentis.* The combination of error and camouflage on the one hand, and the lack of documentation on the other, make the book highly unusable for historians.

Despite the tergiversations, there emerges from this essay a rather clear picture of the author of the *Dialogues.* Galileo was intellectually brilliant, sarcastic, a bully to his opponents, an idol to his friends, a man ahead of his time in knowledge which he was unable to prove in or out of court, a man who went out of his way to insult and deride those who had befriended him even though they were situated in high places. Such a personality generally meets with what we used to call his "comeuppance" and Galileo was no exception. We might suggest that the Oppenheimer case is not the clear parallel the author would have it (p. viii); in our time the clearest parallel occurred in the late spring of 1954. Mr. de Santillana has proved too much.

HENRY A. CALLAHAN

Boston College

The Great Rebellion. Volume I. *The King's Peace, 1637-1641.* By C. V. Wedgewood. (London: Collins Publishers. 1955. Pp. 510. 25s.)

Students of the seventeenth century, who are already indebted to C. V. Wedgewood for her earlier books on Strafford, Cromwell, and the Thirty Years' War, will incur a further obligation upon reading this first volume of her extensive history of the Great Rebellion, and will look forward eagerly to the appearance of the subsequent volumes. *The King's Peace* reconstructs the events of the four critical years preceding the outbreak of the rebellion, from the framing of the Scottish National Covenant in 1637 to the Irish rising of 1641. These were years crowded with political incident, culminating in England with the session of the Long Parliament of 1640-1641. This is a history, then, of three kingdoms, and Miss Wedgewood has taken pains to stress that the crisis in England received much of its impulse from happenings in Scotland and Ireland. The dominant figures of this volume are Charles I and his two most resolute servants, Laud and Strafford, and its most poignant theme is, perhaps, the train of reckless scheming and abject concession by which the king ultimately betrayed these ministers to their—and his—enemies.

Miss Wedgewood has set out to write an account of the Puritan Rebellion in the grand manner, emulating the history published in the last century by the late Samuel Rawson Gardiner. Approaching her subject from a point of view more sympathetic to the royalists, and working through the vast mine of manuscript and secondary sources which have become available since his time, the author has not reached conclusions strikingly different from Dr. Gardiner's. But she has allowed herself to be less influenced by her prejudices than he, perhaps because she is more conscious of them, and because she has the humility to realize that, "No historian has ever been, or will ever be, omniscient in his knowledge or infallible in his deductions" (preface, p. 15). And she has prepared a vastly more readable work, written with a rare clarity and a skillful compression, omitting nothing essential and incorporating many fascinating insights which illuminate the characters and incidents of her story. The introductory section, painting in masterly detail the social and economic life of early Stuart England, stands comparison with Macaulay's classic account of society under the later Stuarts.

In a work almost totally without flaw, it is surprising to read that Charles I was "King of Great Britain and Ireland" (p. 1)—a title which anticipates the Act of Union between England and Scotland by almost a century.

JAMES E. BUNCE

St. John's University
Brooklyn

The Heresy of Democracy. A Study in the History of Government. By Lord Percy of Newcastle. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, Ltd. 1954. Pp. 246. 18/s.)

There are many good things in this volume. The author's style is vigorous, his criticisms and observations often smack of reality and common sense. Usable quotations are numerous. I am thinking of one in particular: "A state religion cannot be, as such, a witness to the truth. God must be worshipped for His own sake, not for His social utility." Nevertheless, something is missing. Perhaps the author is too subtle, because it is not easy to detect the theme of his argument. His vocabulary is not unusual. "Totalism" and "dualism" are not new words, and "moral state" is not a new phrase. It may be the title of the book that sets the chip on a reader's shoulder before he examines the text. If democracy means any kind of political action effected against existing institutions by powerful groups in the name of the people, it deserves an epithet as strong as "heresy." But democracy can mean sharing and participating in social action through political agencies and it can be leavened by natural law influences. That kind of democracy is good. It is the franchise, the jury box, office holding, and law-making by many people from many levels in the community.

There is a secondary theme in Lord Percy's book about a kind of dualism affecting Church and State which the author thinks is bad, and his case is persuasive that political action through the Augustinian Church has not always been good for the Church and for its members. It is easy to lend an ear to his suggestion that societies must grow, and that men must live close to little things in their communities, to develop political sense. And it is easy to understand Lord Percy when he sees the Church as a teaching Church, influencing but never participating in political action, speaking to people rather than to governments, asserting the simplest truths and not confuting heresies, rebuking the most common sins and not rebutting governmental infringements of the rights of the Church, rousing the laity to their social duties rather than vindicating the authority of the priesthood, and, in the world of politics, concentrating on the sanctity of the family and the right of the parents to control their children's education.

The last sentence above is almost a quotation from the book. It is the summary of all the author's analysis, and it makes a stimulating argument. But I still wonder about that word "heresy" in the title. I am not sure that Lord Percy's kind of conservatism can find a common level with social justice, and I know, furthermore, that the teaching Church flourishes in a world which is not everywhere an Anglo-American one.

Vernon X. Miller

The Catholic University of America

Four Studies in French Romantic Historical Writing. By Friedrich Engel-Janosi. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, Series LXXI, Number 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1955. Pp. 158. $2.50.)

Professor Engel-Janosi has been, perhaps, too modest in choosing his title. The "four studies" are not, indeed, a complete monograph on historical writing in France in the romantic era; on the other hand, they are far from being the somewhat adventitious collection of previously published articles that often confronts us under such a title. The book has a unified subject, it centers on three of her four most important and most characteristic historians of the period—Chateaubriand, Barante, Augustin Thierry—and it sets them in a clear introductory framework of generalizations on French historical writing from Bossuet to Maistre. In short, the book is an admirable introduction to the subject. Thierry, indeed, is studied only in his formative years, but only Michelet among the major historians is missing; and Michelet has had far more critical attention than the others.

These are historians who have suffered undue neglect. Most of us know a few of the clichés about them such, for instance, as the statement that the vogue of Sir Walter Scott in France was the inspiration of French romantic writing in this field. Professor Engel-Janosi corrects this over-simple notion very effectively. It is, indeed, true that no one would go to Barante's *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne* or to Chateaubriand's *Essai historique sur les révolutions anciennes et modernes* for what we may in short-hand call "information" on these subjects. It is quite possible that one might do a close special study of a phase of the Norman Conquest without ever referring to Thierry's book on the conquest. But even though "scientific" history outmodes its predecessors, the history of history can never be peripheral to history itself, as the history of a natural science is, in a narrow sense at least, peripheral to active current work in that science. These writers all helped make up the complex clusters of ideas Frenchmen of the first half of the nineteenth century shared. Professor Engel-Janosi's book, written from the point of view of the skilled historian of ideas, touches at a hundred points on matters that must continue to interest us.

A most important appendix is, indeed, properly an appendix. Here Professor Engel-Janosi writes an informative introductory account of two unpublished letters of de Tocqueville to John Stuart Mill, and an unpublished manuscript of de Tocqueville, now in the Hutzler Collection at the Johns Hopkins University. The manuscript is a series of notes on Bulwer's four-volume study of contemporary France (1834-1836). Mill had asked his distinguished French colleague to review Bulwer's book for the *London and Westminster Review,* but these *remarques,* far too brief and informal for reviewing standards of those days, are apparently all Mill ever got. The letters, written about the collaboration of de Tocqueville in the *Westminister Review,* do launch out also into discussions of democracy. Professor Engel-Janosi gives us all this hitherto unpublished material in the original French, with abundant notes and comments. If it does not change our minds about de Tocqueville, it does give us some admirable and characteristic bits from his pen, such as this:

> M. B[ulwer] s'est évidement nourri de la littérature française du 18^{e} siècle et malgré ses voyages en France je soupçonne qu'il connait encore mieux les Français du regne de Louis XV que ceux du temps de Louis Philippe.

CRANE BRINTON

Harvard University

La restauration. By G. de Berthier de Sauvigny. [Collection "l'Histoire."] (Paris: Flammarion. 1955. Pp. 652. 1,150 frs.)

The restoration of the Bourbons after the defeat of Napoleon represented a compromise between the forces comprising the *ancien régime* and that of the new society created by the revolution and the empire. Consequently, the restoration was founded upon compromises, concessions, and agreements which sought to placate each society, but which satisfied neither. The importance of this limited parliamentary monarchy from 1814 to 1830 has been frequently disputed by historians. Some view it as nothing but a reaction or a slow retrogression to the principles and practices of the *ancien régime.* Others tend to view the restoration not so much as a period of reaction triumphant but as a period wherein the basic conflicts of nineteenth-century French history were first encountered. This school, as exemplified by such men as Sébastien Charléty, views the restoration as the seminal period for nineteenth-century France.

Guillaume de Berthier de Sauvigny, one of France's eminent historians, has already written a number of monographs on the period of the restoration, including works on the Congrégation, the conspiracy of the Duchesse de Berry, the establishment of the Bourbons, and numerous articles concerning religious history. His most original study has been on Ferdinand de Berthier and the work of the Congrégation. In short, Father de Berthier is admirably qualified to write a general history of the restoration.

This work, which covers the entire restoration period, 1814-1830, is not merely a political history but one which treats politics as embracing all of man's past activities. It is a systematic treatment of political, economic, religious, social, and intellectual currents of Restoration France. The author, in keeping with the policy of the "Collection l'Histoire," does not include footnotes; however, a comprehensive bibliography is appended. Throughout the author reveals a thorough and masterful grasp of the numerous memoirs, newspapers, monographs, and archival sources for the period. Few works on the restoration, with the possible exception of Charléty, reveal such a widespread acquaintance with the published and unpublished sources.

The thesis pervading this work is that the restoration was essentially a compromise between the two Frances, a compromise that caused congenital weaknesses in the nation's political, religious, social, and economic life. It was a weakness which Balzac characterized as "un temps de transactions continuelles entre les hommes, entre les choses, entre les faits accomplis et ceux qui se massaient à l'horizon." The eventual overthrow of the Bourbons in 1830 was avoidable if this congenital weakness resulting from compromises had been solved. Father Berthier has several conclusions which are worth noting. First, he describes the religious revival during the restoration as little more than a facade which hid a widespread religious indifferentism. Much of his material is based upon parochial, diocesan, and public records of baptisms, marriages, and other church services. Secondly, he demonstrates the crucial importance of this period in the subsequent industrial revolution which swept France. Finally, in politics the author feels that France did have sixteen years of government under a parliamentary monarchy—a period which most certainly aided the growth of parliamentary traditions in France.

WALTER D. GRAY

University of Notre Dame

Alexis de Tocqueville: The Critical Years, 1848-1851. By Edward T. Gargan. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 324. $3.50.)

The dissertation under examination presents a subject that has absorbed the author's interest for many years. The result of this sustained devotion appears as a substantial contribution to the knowledge of: 1) the period in its local, political aspects; 2) Alexis de Tocqueville, 1805-1859, the practical politician and historian; and 3) the historiography of the nineteenth century. Artful treatment of these facets has made for a unity of thought and effectiveness of presentation.

The author regarded Tocqueville during the years, 1848-1849, as a man of political experience of nine years' standing, whose career culminated with the portfolio of foreign minister (June 2, 1849-October 31, 1849). In this time Tocqueville contended successfully, albeit in part, with two significant problems: the novelty of the second French Republic and the Roman Question. Peremptory dismissal by President Louis Napoleon obliged Tocqueville's move into another role, one "to share in directing and softening the counter-revolutionary movement in France. . . ." What seems even more important for Mr. Gargan is that the antecedent decade of political participation and growing maturity prepared Tocqueville for the intellectual task of his full manhood—*The History of the Old Regime and the Revolution*—a topic determined upon by 1852. Neither the *Democracy in America* nor the *History* is discussed here in any detail. The author endeavored with sympathy and much success to understand Tocqueville, the historian-thinker.

To this reviewer Tocqueville appears as the noble and steadfast defender *par excellence* of freedom; the adamantine adversary of statism. In this dual method Tocqueville transcended the historical milieu and entered the province of the "prophet," alerting Paris, France, Europe, and the world to the scourges of merciless, governmental centralization. Whereas Marx affianced himself to the proletariat, Tocqueville gained liberty's hand and never forsook her. In explaining the past and present trends of history, Tocqueville enters that classification of historians, according to Arnold Toynbee, whose main business is the interpretation of the past to influence thereby the future. From this viewpoint Tocqueville's ideas become contemporaneous, pertinent, and valid.

The chapter "History" introduces the reader to the Tocqueville after October, 1849, a stretch of time in which he developed his famous historical topic. The original study was intentionally concerned with Napoleon Bonaparte; but subsequently it developed as the story of the old regime and the revolution. It should be granted that the author adhered to strict chronology in placing this chapter where he did. Stylistically its presence, as perhaps Chapter VIII, might be more effectual.

This work should also be of interest to the student of historiography. Mr. Gargan skillfully employed the character of Tocqueville to illustrate the thought of historians like his early mentor, Guizot (idea of civilization); Toynbee (withdrawal and return); and Marx (historical materialism). In this final instance, the comparison of Marx and Tocqueville, the author probably apportioned too much place to Marx. The fifty-two pages in Chapter IX compare equally with Chapter IV which is concerned with Tocqueville's climactic period. Unity of theme almost tottered.

This reviewer would disagree with the statement that Thiers' historical writing on Napoleon Bonaparte outlived his political importance (p. 59, n. 12). His role as the Head of the Executive Power and President of the Republic initiated the reconstruction of France through the grave transitional interregnum between the Second Empire and the Third

Republic. Certainly this fact immortalized Thiers rather than his seldom read twenty-volume history.

In the bibliography (Section III, p. 312) conventional procedure separates the primary and secondary "sources." Reference is lacking for Ross W. Collins' *Catholicism and the Second French Republic, 1848-1852,* (Columbia University Press, 1923). Because of the author's recourse to the *Souvenirs,* a critical appraisal ought to have been included in the dissertation. Such an approach would sharpen and confirm objectivity and credibility. Finally, in the reviewer's opinion, and despite personal disagreement, the author achieved his objectives and this timely study should be rated as a sterling and sound analysis of Tocqueville, his critical years, and his role as an historian.

RAYMOND J. MARAS

St. John's University
Collegeville

Czartoryski and European Unity, 1770-1861. By M. Kukiel. (Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. xvii, 354. $6.00.)

This is a very important book. Its importance transcends the fields of Polish or East European history, as it illuminates an often obscured part of the larger, European picture during the last century. There are many decisive corrections and certain significant, implicit lessons therein. In admirable contrast to much of the literature produced by émigré scholars, it is calmly and serenely readable. All should be grateful to the eminent author and to the excellent Kosciuszko Foundation. We are indebted to the latter for its generous willingness to help produce this book; we are indebted to the author for the generosity of his spirit.

The life of Adam Czartoryski, like that of Metternich, lasted through those great waves that changed the traditional picture of Europe forever. He was born in the age of Louis XV; he died in the age of Garibaldi. He was a great Polish patriot but also a superb European, and a protagonist of European union. He lived through terrible disappointments and tragedies. At least five times Czartoryski had to endure ultimate disappointment, the collapse of his devoted cause through no fault of his. He never stooped to recriminations, or to the making of political capital from the evident arguments of "I told you so," however well earned. His high character and stoic temper represented his noble class at their rare best. The singular contribution of M. Kukiel seems to lie in this judicious, and coherent, description of the influence of men like Czartoryski, not only in Polish but in all-European affairs. Another important contribution resides in Kukiel's temperate corrections of certain romantic notions concerning the Polish Revolution of 1830-1831. It is now definitely evident that the silly inclinations of Zalewski gravely compromised the chances of the inflamed patriots. Kukiel's account corrects some points in the distinguished earlier monographs of Askenazy and Handelsman, though Askenazy is probably right in having asserted that Czartoryski should have supported the Russian Grand Duke Constantine throughout. On the other hand, Kukiel makes a very good case in disproving those earlier assertions that imputed that Czartoryski's friendship with Alexander I showed signs of opportunism, and of a certain inner weakness. For a very important, though indirect, lesson in this book is the evidence how, ***under certain circumstances,*** a Polish-Russian collaboration may be achievable as well as propitious; and that the prospects of such collaboration have been gravely injured and torn down almost always by the Russians, does not diminish the importance of this consideration.

"A government," wrote Czartoryski, "which goes beyond self-defense when dealing with other nations, is guilty of injustice." Almost always it has been Russia that is justly accused of having disregarded this principle. But the tragedy of Poland, and of many other East European nations has been that, when it comes to their potential western friends, the prevalence of this principle is difficult to deny. Here, beyond the sad but expected psychological difficulties, lies the main source of the bitterness welling within the little worlds of émigrés, whose constant problems and quarrels M. Kukiel's pen depicts with stoic strokes worthy of the author's hero. For there is an essential difference between two historic manifestations of Providence that are often confused in our minds with, indeed, sorry results. It is not true that good men always win over bad men in this world. But it is true that good principles have an often inscrutable way of always prevailing in the long run. The best sons of Poland, such as Czartoryski, somehow sensed this throughout their tragedies and it tempered their sorrows. It flowed from their character which was noble, Polish, Catholic, and European.

JOHN A. LUKACS
Chestnut Hill and La Salle Colleges
Philadelphia

Victorian People. A Reassessment of Persons and Themes, 1851-67. By Asa Briggs. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 312. $5.00.)

It is no longer fashionable to applaud the strictures of Lytton Strachey on the Victorians and to denounce their "cant." The destruction in our own day of so many time-honored values and institutions has led many to regard the Victorians as living in a halcyon age and to perceive that the period possessed greater stability than historians were previously willing to concede. In this interesting and witty book, Asa Briggs, fellow of Worcester College, paints vivid portraits of ten eminent Victorians designed "to illuminate the nature of mid-Victorian society as it seemed to contemporaries" (p. 12). He studies Joseph Paxton and the Crystal Palace—probably the most brilliant chapter in this volume, John Roebuck and the Crimean War, Anthony Trollope, Walter Bagehot, and the English Constitution, Samuel Smiles and the gospel of work, Thomas Hughes and the public schools, Robert Applegarth and the trade-unions, John Bright and the creed of reform, Robert Lowe and the fear of democracy, and Benjamin Disraeli and the reform bill of 1867. Readers will be disappointed that Mr. Briggs did not select a figure from the small gentry or the aristocracy which were so important in Victorian society, and that although he discusses the career of John Bright, the prototype of the Non-conformist businessman, he says little of religion which loomed so large in that age.

Mr. Briggs neatly relates his subjects to their times. However, his purpose to explore the value judgment and preferences of mid-Victorian society is defeated on occasion by a strained effort to relate these men to our times. Thus he remarks that Samuel Smiles in his approach to insurance against the hazards of the working life and the problems of sickness and old age "showed none of the twentieth-century concern for the maintenance of full employment and social security," and that Robert Applegarth's substantial contributions to the trade-union movement looked beyond the machinery of collective bargaining and the apparatus of mutual insurance to certain basic social rights which it was the task of working class organizations to vindicate.

The author presents a plausible case for treating the period 1851-1867 as an entity, but it is not convincing. As he suggests himself, the year 1859 possesses great merit to end the period of "high noon" in Victoria's reign, if a year must be chosen. The author's judgment is well balanced, though a reader will doubt that the Crimean War—which is convincingly depicted as a jolt to easy complacency in Britain—was "without real decision in the field of international politics." The failure of Austria to support Russia in repayment for the czar's aid in crushing the Hungarian rebellion in 1849 alienated the feared champion of the old order so that he stood aside when France, Sardinia, and Prussia overturned the balance in the next decade. But these are minor flaws in an otherwise excellent volume.

GAETANO L. VINCITORIO

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The French Theory of the Nation in Arms, 1866-1939. By Richard D. Challener. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. 305. $4.50.)

This volume is a history of French military theory as expounded by military writers and political spokesmen between the years 1866 and 1939. The author does not hesitate to interpret the factual knowledge he so painstakingly accumulated. More specifically, Challener lists, as he and others see it, the reasons for the military collapse of France so early in World War II. Some of these reasons are: 1) France was the advance guard of a world coalition which, in 1940, had not yet mobilized; she had to fall (p. 258); 2) the politicians failed to provide the military with the requisite tools and with sufficient amounts of material (p. 259); 3) the defeat was the consequences of faulty military theories and erroneous strategies of the military hierarchy (p. 260); 4) the defeat was caused by the French failure to develop a theory of warfare adequate for the needs of the struggle (p. 261).

Mr. Challener's study seems purposely pointed toward 1940. Starting with Sadowa, he outlines the changing military theories, their effect on the nation, the government, and on military leaders. The nation in arms, as conceived during the French Revolution, was revived after 1866 following a lapse of some fifty years. While industrial, commercial, technical, and international factors called for a revision of military theory from time to time, the French conception of the nation in arms seemed to remain unchanged. One might say that the military and political writers on this subject down to 1940 were, almost to a man, trapped by the theory of the nation in arms. While there are various definitions of this term, for France the nation in arms meant the reliance on a conscript army. It was the belief that the defense of the nation was the concern of every citizen. More especially, the nation in arms was the citizen soldier rather than the professional soldier. The "army should be the school of the citizen and the officer his teacher" (p. 66). It would seem that during this period the militia system as expounded by Jaurès prior to World War I took precedence over the professional army. This basic conception dogged the minds of the leaders of the Third Republic. France never really grasped the profound changes that were taking place in the period between the two world wars. She was still bound by the lessons she had learned during World War I. France, in 1940, had a Maginot Line, an army trained in defensive tactics, and totally inadequate economic and industrial resources. The theory of the nations in arms called for a defense of *La Patrie*. And so France fell.

Mr. Challener's study is a real contribution to French military, political, and social history, but to the reviewer, the distinct contribution is to intellectual history. What the author has here is a penetrating analysis of the enervating forces of the French Revolution on the French nation. The stranglehold of French revolutionary theories on the French is more than evident in this study. Republicanism, at least as interpreted by the French, has reduced the nation to a body beset by egalitarian principles. Republicanism, it would seem, has been almost a curse to France. True enough, intellectual life has been quickened; the French have been able to rationalize to the nth degree; but this rationalization, this enslavement to the doctrines of 1789, has reduced France to a less than great power. Challener, of course, does not say this, but his book seems to fortify this theory.

The book is well planned, carefully annotated, and has an excellent bibliography. The author has a clear style which makes for easy reading, a quality that too few technical works possess.

DONALD R. PENN

Georgetown University

La France au XXᵉ siècle. By Robert Lacour-Gayet. (New York: Dryden Press. Modern Language Publications. Pp. x, 329. $3.25.)

In this clearly organized manual Professor Lacour-Gayet of St. John's University and New York University, too, divides the half century in question into three periods: 1900-1914, 1914-1939, 1939-1954, and treats all three under the same headings. Thus, in each period, a chapter called *l'Ambiance,* literally surroundings or environment, used here for a view of French politics, French attitudes, and the forces uniting or dividing France, follows a brief chronological summary; and is, in turn, followed by chapters on institutions, economy and finance, society, modes of existence and intellectual life. The book should, therefore, be invaluable to the young student seeking a logical and illuminating picture of French civilization as a whole, while the more informed scholar will find the exact factual information and the excellent charts and tables on economy and finance (Professor Lacour-Gayet was once *Inspecteur général des finances*) very helpful

The obvious criticism of this book is that in treating so vast a theme in some 300-odd pages, extreme brevity is essential, such brevity as to limit or even preclude analysis. This technique matters less in the sections on society, where description is in a sense interpretation, but in the more complex political sections, e.g., the period between the wars, it can lead into oversimplification and inadequate evaluation of different points of view. Yet within his framework Professor Lacour-Gayet brings out current French issues with objectivity and honesty. The relation between sound money and the French future, the improved if still limited position of the worker, the numerous cabinet shifts, trends in education, existentialism, the new spiritual awareness, are all there. *The Ambiance* chapters, more interpretative than the others, are thought provoking. The sympathetic and at times humorous descriptions of French society, by classes, from top to bottom, are delightful. A good bibliography is included and footnotes add miscellaneous information.

In Professor Lacour-Gayet's restrained and dignified handling of his material the thoughtful reader will sense an appeal for understanding of France. With this many will sympathize, although some will be more hesitant about the thesis that France should be the interpreter of Europe to the United States pending some abatement of the current (we hope temporary) anti-Americanism. They will, however, join in the author's final act of faith that France, working through new agencies and forms—the French Union, the Atlantic Community, and European co-operation—will meet the challenges of the twentieth century successfully as she has met those of the past.

FRANCES S. CHILDS

Brooklyn College

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Self-Made Man in America. The Myth of Rags to Riches. By Irvin G. Wyllie. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 210. $4.00.)

The United States in many ways is the "Cinderella nation" of history, and its material growth and progress in terms of the great American middle-class (ninety-six per cent of us today feel we are neither the upper nor lower crust!) is the wonder and envy of many other peoples less fortunate materially. We have all felt at one time or another that the rags to riches theme was overdone in explanations of America's phenomenal growth. It takes such a work as Professor Wyllie's to analyze the idea, show its many parts, and to place it before us and others as a sympathetic chronicle of a myth. Too many "foreign visitors" have glanced at the American success cult and Midas' touch and returned home to criticize what they felt was our worship of Mammon. Too many Americans—especially our business leaders and teachers—have accepted this veneer philosophy popularized in the eighteenth century by Benjamin Franklin and in the process they have overlooked our more fundamental Christian values.

Wyllie's research considers the American idea of self-help to success from the Jacksonian period to 1914. It covers its principal enthusiasts and the roles of American preachers of the cult, especially Freeman Hunt, Arthur Tappan, Edward Bok, Russell Conwell, Elbert Hubbard, Orison Marden, and Emerson. Wyllie uses extensively the pronouncements of the Protestant clergy and such prime examples from the business world as Andrew Carnegie, Thomas Mellon, Peter Cooper, Charles Schwab, and, of course, John D. Rockefeller, in developing the "partnership of God and Mammon." (How could any real American idea gain currency "among the people" without backing from the Bible?) It is not the purpose of this book to do more than mention the opposition, the "social gospel" group, much less those endeared to the New Testament.

This delightful little volume is important for two reasons: first, it scientifically investigates some of "the ephemeral books and magazines" preserved in Americana; and secondly, it critically looks from many angles at a popular American idea generated in colonial days and kept alive in the last two centuries principally by the business world and the chosen spokesmen of American free enterprise and individualism. Wyllie, accepts, as indeed he must, the popular American equation that success means money and vice versa. He points out, however, that this is but a half truth (p. 6) and in passing he states that the Catholic Church's "traditional indictment of materialism" (p. 57) kept its spokesmen from taint, and presumably out of the general stream of American acceptance of the success cult. While it may be true that there are relatively few Catholic families of great wealth, one wonders what an equally careful search of "Catholic" sources would reveal as to Catholic acceptance of the success phobia.

Wyllie is an excellent writer and an able research scholar who knows how to make his end products good history. His lack of understanding of philosophy, much less theology, however, handicaps his ability to generalize with any profundity. A casual reader wonders whether he actually believes in his statement that success means money is only a "half-truth." The only academic rule he seems to trifle with is proper chronology. For our modern self-made men, such as a David Sarnoff, he can only ask "who could mistake [such a man] for Cornelius Vanderbilt or John Jacob Astor?" (p. 169). American intellectuals require deeper insight of their historians of ideas—at least less flippancy with America's well known and highly regarded ideals.

JAMES J. GREEN

University of Notre Dame

The Reputation of the American Businessman. By Sigmund Diamond. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1955. Pp. 209. $4.00.)

Sigmund Diamond's volume in the Harvard Studies in Entrepreneurial History impresses upon historians once again the complexities in a multi-disciplinary approach to the delineation of the American mind. In terminology as well as method the work seems directed even more to the sociologist than the historian. Obituaries, the core of this study, are subject to definite limitations, but they have been used with insight and discretion.

Stephen Girard, first of six portraits, spanned the age of Thomas Carlyle and the self-made man, when individual capacity and character were considered the sole factors in success. Mounting criticism of wealth for wealth's sake appears with the penny papers and humanitarianism. Symbolizing the poor immigrant success story, John Jacob Astor's life, nonetheless, was subjected to heavy attack and discussed in relation to the changing social order. Post-Civil War gadflies such as Mark Twain, E. L. Godkin, and Henry Ward Beecher forced editors to alter their eulogies, and the Ricardian principle of self-interest was proclaimed fundamental to the economic order. Older formulas of thrift, energy, perseverance, and integrity no longer sufficed in an age of protest against social evils and robber barons, causing apologists for Cornelius Vanderbilt to invoke religion, philanthropy, the human touch, and the social utility of the business man.

By 1913 Progressivism and the New Freedom have had their effect and a new picture of the business man emerges. J. P. Morgan's greatness is attributed to the constructive nature of his enterprises and to the interests he shared with the common man, among which the church, charity, and the "manlier sports of sea and shore" were publicized. Critics might deplore the narrowing corridors of opportunity, but in the respectability of the entrepreneur as public servant and patriot little is heard of the self-made man. Depression undermined acquiescence in the economic system during the 1930's, and, with capitalism on the defensive, John D. Rockefeller's defenders excused his career as a product of his time. An identification of free enterprise and the American way of life, with its social mobility, is undertaken in the face of rising criticism, and Rockefeller's domestic virtues, human qualities, contributions to the rising standard of living, and patriotism are all brought into play.

The cycle, according to the author, is closed with the journalistic contention, implicit at least, that it is the environment alone which made possible the fabulous achievements of Henry Ford. A product of American freedom, Ford's career was possible only in this country. Conservatism has alienated the critic by questioning his loyalty and has gone on to achieve an equation of business enterprise and patriotism.

This reviewer questions whether liberalism is so cowered, whether the press is so uniform, and whether the hero has vanished, even in this "environmentalistic" age. Journalism is not always placed in the context of the various periods, and no picture is given of the press and the business man of the 1890's; but one finds much to ponder in this challenging study. The book is replete with valuable quotations and, whatever the validity of some of the author's conclusions, readers will find them provocative.

JOHN RICKARDS BETTS

Boston College

Culture on the Moving Frontier. By Louis B. Wright. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1955. Pp. 273. $3.50.)

Louis B. Wright, director of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, uses these six lectures to prove that "culture" came to frontier America because a creative minority wedded to the refinements of Anglo-Saxon civilization fought against pioneer "barbarism." Turner and Webb are his conscious targets. His evidence ranges widely over the moving "frontier" to include the activities of "hard-riding, fearless" circuit riders, James Hall's struggle to make Cincinnati a literary center, and the early history of the University of California at Berkeley.

Mr. Wright's discussion of the creative minority comes off better than his analysis of America's debt to English civilization, a theme which Gerald W. Johnson has recently explored with better effect in *Our English Heritage.* What he adds to Johnson's analysis is, for the most part, glib speculation in a delicate area calling more for careful tracing than for bold assertion and fuzzy hints. Benjamin Franklin's pragmatism may resemble similar ideas elsewhere, but that does not establish its "origin" in English middle class speculation of the late sixteenth century, especially since Franklin's life in eighteenth-century America gives an ample base for his philosophy. The fact that seventeenth-century London clerics would have felt at home among Kentucky's theological faculties does not, without further proof, establish a nexus between the two; the London clergymen would also have felt at home in mediaeval Paris or at the twentieth-century Union Theological Seminary. Western newspapers, he tells us elsewhere, reprinted a great deal of British literature, and, he goes on without elaboration, "its effect was not lost upon frontier readers" (p. 114). This is not acceptable technique for studying the transit of culture.

Even worse, Mr. Wright's notion of culture is so genteel and so oriented to English forms that he applauds imitation, equates decorum with culture, and, therefore, fails to recognize that a new environment has to evoke its own cultural expression, that a simple brick house may have more cultural significance than transplanted Georgian. He views the competition between frontier roughness and Anglo-Saxon culture as a "struggle between the powers of darkness and the angels of light" (p. 50). Only in a single chapter—"Instruments of Culture: Secular Agencies"—does he recognize cultural departures from the English norm.

Mr. Wright adds little to Johnson's volume; his evidence comes from fairly familiar material; and, to tell the truth, the central idea could have been presented effectively in a single well-knit essay.

FRANCIS L. BRODERICK

Phillips Exeter Academy

The Albany Congress and Plan of Union of 1754. By Robert C. Newbold. (New York: Vantage Press. 1955. Pp. 208. $3.50.)

This book is probably the most thorough study of the Albany Congress and the reasons for its failure to unite the colonies which has been written. The author has diligently studied the archives of Rhode Island, New York, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania for unpublished sources. He also has made good use of the printed journals and proceedings of the various colonial assemblies and councils for the above provinces and for many others, even including Georgia which had little to do with the event. Unfortunately, he seems to have little material to draw on for Virginia's attitude. He explains in a note, "A fire in 1781 destroyed the journals of the council for the period covered by this dissertation" (p. 168). Newspapers of the period are used to fill the gap and the writings of interested persons and officials are not neglected.

From his knowledge of these documents Father Newbold expounds on the occasion for calling the congress, the speeches of the delegates to the Indians, and their efforts to draw up a document which might be accepted by the colonial legislatures as a guarantee of their mutual protection. He ends with chapters on the action by which the various colonial governments rejected or ignored what had been done at Albany, and an explanation of how the Plan for Union never reached the British Parliament. An appendix compares the Albany Plan with Benjamin Franklin's "Short Hints Toward a Scheme for a General Union of the British Colonies."

The volume gives the impression that it tells about all that can be known concerning the congress from the public records. However, this reviewer experienced a certain amount of disappointment because of the absence of any extensive treatment of those episodes which would have established the relationship of the meeting to the wider American history of the era. The first chapter, which deals with the background of the event, devotes a scant six pages to what had happened in the Ohio

Valley from the beginning of its occupation by Europeans up to the incidents which proved to be major factors in the calling of the congress. The statement of French-English contact is so oversimplified that it is capable of misinterpretation. One is led to understand that there was serious British colonial competition for the West as early as 1680 (p. 8); and that there had been English settlers on the site of Pittsburgh in 1753 (pp. 19-20). In fact, one might almost carry away the impression that the French were the interlopers in the Ohio Valley and that it had been quite well peopled by Anglo-Americans before the delegates went to Albany. This brevity is probably accounted for by a fear of overweighting these introductory remarks, but it would seem that a happier medium might have been established without endangering the accusation of padding. What might warrant this accusation is the presence of a summary at the end of each chapter. But perhaps both this style and the lack of latitude in making deductions from the material collected may be attributed to thesis regulations.

The book will be very helpful to students of the events which led to the revolt of the thirteen colonies. It is regrettable that there is no index, for this would have enhanced its value on behalf of such readers.

Raphael N. Hamilton

Marquette University

The Dulanys of Maryland. By Aubrey C. Land. [Studies in Maryland History. No. 3.] (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society. 1955. Pp. xviii, 390. $6.00.)

This latest addition to the series, Studies in Maryland History, by Aubrey C. Land continues the high standard set by Donald Owings in *His Lordship's Patronage* (Baltimore, 1953). A scholarly study of the two Daniel Dulanys was long overdue, and the Maryland Historical Society is to be congratulated on publishing this excellent dual biography. The book is divided between Daniel Dulany the Elder (212 pp.) and Daniel the Younger (121 pp.). The life of Daniel the Elder, as a success story, would have delighted the heart of Horatio Alger. "From Indentured Servant to Attorney General and Councillor of State," the Alger title might have run, and, in this case, the facts would have outpaced the imagination. This indentured servant through success, industry, ability, and marriage moved into the top circles of Maryland's first families. This rise of Daniel the Elder is painted against the rich background of colonial Maryland's golden years.

One interesting question is left unanswered: the religion or change in religion in Daniel the Elder. "Dulany, an Irish emigrant who somewhere along the line had got to be a member of the Church of England, was enjoying a brilliant career," wrote Ellen Hart Smith in *Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (p. 106). The question of religion brings up one serious defect in an otherwise scholarly book: the public and official life of both men is well covered, but their private life, character, and ambitions are mostly left untouched. Rogue and scoundrel, Thomas Macnemara is fascinatingly alive as he moves through the opening pages of this work, but neither Dulany ever comes fully to life.

Daniel the Younger was, in his day, America's greatest lawyer, a fame granted to him on both sides of the Atlantic. From his father he inherited a great name and ample wealth. Through marriage he too was connected with the colony's aristocrats. Yet on his own merits he is rightly judged the acknowledged head of the legal profession. His "Second Citizen" and "Antilon" role is well known, but Mr. Land has a succinct comparison of the opponents: "Dulany spoke the language of the constitutional lawyer, Carroll that of natural rights." And despite Dulany's stooping to personal abuse and bigotry in that famous debate, Catholics can be grateful for Dulany's almost single-handed opposition to the anti-Catholic measures passed by the Maryland legislature at the time of the French and Indian War.

Of the two men, the younger Dulany is commonly judged the more important, though Mr. Land has given him considerably less treatment than his father. In particular, the ending of the book is most abrupt and hence unsatisfactory: the last twenty years of the younger Dulany's life are covered in a corresponding number of pages. It is true that Dulany was a neutral loyalist, and as such he did not figure in the new order of things after 1775. From this date to his death in 1797, Dulany was a private person, and Mr. Land is less interested in this phase of his life. One wishes the author were more interested in other than the official aspect of things. Perhaps, the private life of the younger Dulany would offer a fuller explanation of his position at the time of the Revolution, although Dulany's arguments, as publicly stated, were logical and sound. It is difficult in ordinary times for a man to be on two sides at once, but in war such a position for one of great station, distinction, and attainment is untenable. For this reason one wishes the author had probed as deeply into the private life as the public.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, however, Mr. Land's biography is outstanding. The work bears the mark of research and thoroughness and is a sound and scholarly addition to the public lives of colonial statesmen.

JOHN J. TIERNEY

St. Charles College
Catonsville

Ezra Ames of Albany; Portrait Painter, Craftsman, Royal Arch Mason, Banker, 1768-1836. By Theodore Bolton and Irwin F. Cortelyou. (New York: New York Historical Society. 1955. Pp. xix, 398. $4.95.)

Seldom can the reader of American history find a happier reading experience than the delightful *Ezra Ames of Albany.* Here is the combined artistic and business life of one of America's most prolific artists, though one not as well known as some. Recorder of likenesses of more prominent men and women than any other American artist, he must be ranked with the more popularly known Stuart, Jarvis, and Waldo for his excellence. His portraits and landscapes reveal a transition from primitive to a polished art. His life, like his art, showed the development of training. From an early life in the small-town capital of the state, he rose to the position of an intimate to governors, legislators, bankers, publishers, tradesmen, professional men, and fraternal leaders. Ames, indeed, was interested in everything, though art took the predominant position in his life. He founded the Albany Mechanics Society and he was also the founding proprietor of the Albany Gallery of Art.

The fabulous character of the man could not be denied. His contemporaries soon made demands for his artistic skill in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, in the great Hudson River manors, and in leading towns of Massachusetts. Honored by those whom he served as friend and advisor, he was to win professional recognition by elevation to American Academician—the highest rank that the American Academy of Fine Arts could bestow.

From any standpoint, *Ezra Ames of Albany* is fascinating reading. The authors have combined the good flavor of biography and history as well as the cataloguing of Ames' work. This book is a profitable addition to the library collection of anyone who purchases it.

Peter K. Ewald

New York University

Empire on the Pacific: A Study in American Continental Expansion. By Norman A. Graebner. (New York: Ronald Press Co. 1955. Pp. ix, 278. $4.50.)

Some ten years ago, in a study of international rivalries in the Pacific Northwest, a leading diplomatic historian wrote:

> Oregon diplomacy is habitually set, I think, too much in the framework of continental manifest destiny. . . . Fresh research might well result in

> re-evaluating this process in terms of greater stress on the maritime factor. And such a project might well be a part of a longer study that would explore the continuity of the outlook on the region as a gate to a commercial empire. (*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XLVI, 206.)

What influence, if any, the above opinion had on the author's work, I have no means of knowing. The book, however, might have been written with it as a thesis; and quotations from contemporaneous newspapers and magazines are marshalled by the score to support his position. This method, though it has its merits, tends, nevertheless, to be partisan; and one lays down this study with the impression that the author has overplayed his role of an historian and assumed that of a plaintiff. The place accorded the doctrine of Manifest Destiny by expansionist historians over the past quarter of a century may, perhaps, have necessitated such a procedure.

The book, then, isolates "the essential motivation that underlay the acquisition by the United States in the 1840's of a continental domain" fronting on the Pacific Ocean, and successfully narrates the factors of its composition. The activities of the traders by sea from Boston and New York, and of those by land from St. Louis, are skillfully blended with the designs of politicians—chiefly Jacksonian Democrats—from the South and the North, who for their own reasons sought the expansion of the United States beyond the Rocky Mountains. Simultaneously, the prospect to easterners of trade in the Far East rivaling that with Europe, together with the belief of westerners that the possession of territory contiguous to ports on the Pacific was a beneficent design of Providence for the spread of democratic institutions, made, to Americans of all sections, the lure of continental expansion to that ocean simply irresistible.

The obstacle to expansion in the Pacific Northwest was the British possessions in Old Oregon; and the attitudes of congressmen, publicists, and pioneers toward this factor are sufficiently sketched to fix the reader's attention on its place in the westward movement. But here one comes upon the principal weakness of the book, for there is no discussion of the British proposal to grant the Americans the present Olympic peninsula (*U. S. Ser. 1557*, p. 217), nor is there a single reference to the *Publications* of the Hudson's Bay Record Society (now numbering eighteen volumes), or to the splendid and rich archives of that company. The map on page 25 should have clearly delimited this area. To this extent, at least, the book is one-sided history; and, hence, a falsification by omission. So, too, the chapters on the three-power rivalry for the bay of San Francisco, made up in large part of snatches from reports of Frenchmen, Britishers, and Americans on the spot, are concatenated in such wise that, though they achieve the author's object of giving his readers a pen-picture of California before 1848, ultimately leave him with the feeling of coming from a feast of many ill-prepared and hence unappetizing dishes. While I do not wish to be captious, nevertheless, I believe that the author should have relied less on quotations of original sources from the works of secondary authors and more on the originals themselves.

On the contrary, the chapters on the events, domestic and foreign, leading to the Mexican War, the pettiness of Polk and Scott, the ambitions of Taylor, Polk's intrigue with Santa Anna, and the genuine statesmanship of Trist under trying conditions, are, indeed, very well done and merit nothing but praise. Especially to be singled out is the author's signalizing of naked acquisitiveness as the real cause of the war and of studied chicanery as the basis of Polk's tortuous pursuit of ends he ever had in view. And the principal argument of the book that Manifest Destiny has been overstressed to the neglect of the importance of Asiatic trading prospects and the consequent need of windows on the Pacific, is eminently sound and will find its way, I am sure, into the mainstream of future writings on this subject. In emphasizing this "facet of American expansion" Dr. Graebner has, indeed, made a solid contribution to historical knowledge.

WILLIAM L. DAVIS

Gonzaga University

The French Canadians, 1760 to 1945. By Mason Wade. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1955. Pp. xvi, 1136. $6.50.)

This is the most comprehensive history of the French Canadian people that has been written in the English language. It is the work of a scholar who has long been recognized as an authority on the subject, and of one who brings to his task a degree of detachment and a sobriety of judgment that have not always been evident in the work of Canadian writers, either French or English. The survival of this French community in the heart of the very different civilization that has developed in North America has sometimes been described as the miracle of Canadian history. There is no miracle; but there is a good deal that requires explanation; and if Mr. Wade's readers fail to understand the reasons for this survival, or to appreciate the part played by the French in creating the distinctive pattern of Canadian life, that will not be due to any failure on his part to supply the required material. To many, indeed, it may appear that the detail is excessive, and that the essentials of the problem are too often obscured by the accumulation of evidence which adds little to the argument, and which has no special interest in itself.

Most of Mr. Wade's material comes within the sphere of politics. There are interesting sections on economic, social, and intellectual changes in French Canada. But these are as a rule subordinated to the political narrative, and the reader who desires to know what manner of people these are, how they have lived, and continue to live, on their farms, in their old and often picturesque villages, or in the growing industrial centers that have sprung up in their midst, must seek that information in the enormously long chapters dealing in the main with struggle and conflict over political issues. It is no doubt difficult to separate these things. The constant theme of French Canadian history, at least from the 1830's onward, is the nationalist movement through which they expressed, and sought to preserve, their distinctive character against the pressure of forces which threatened to submerge them. The historian must perforce be concerned in the main with this theme. But not all French Canadians were nationalist politicians at all times. Like other people at all times they have been concerned with the ordinary business of living; and this would be a more interesting book if it presented a clearer and more definite picture of the life which they have fought so tenaciously to defend.

Within its scope it is about as complete as any book on the subject is ever likely to be; and its scope is very wide. It ranges over the political contests of the past century and a half on the provincial, or even the parochial level, through the national level, to that of the empire in which Canada had its place. From newspapers, periodicals, local histories, pamphlets, sermons, and similar sources Mr. Wade has collected the opinions of individuals and groups of all degrees of importance and influence on the various issues that have been debated in these years; and his quotations from these sources provide the fullest statement of French Canadian opinion on these questions that can anywhere be found. At the other end of the scale the theories and policies of the imperialists—Seeley, Froude, Chamberlain, and others—which impinged upon, or seemed to threaten, the jealously guarded rights of French Canada, are explained and illustrated at almost equal length. Between these comes the debate, in parliament, on the hustings, and in the press, on national issues: responsible government, federation, the claims of French Canadians in newly settled regions in the West, the fate of Louis Riel, the South African War and imperial defense, and above all, the great issue of conscription in 1917 and again in 1944. On all these matters there is here a wealth of evidence, much of it important, some of it, perhaps, a little trivial, but, taken together, illustrating the views of every section of the French Canadian population which had any opinion.

Many of these issues led to bitter conflict with sections of the English-speaking community; and Mr. Wade has illustrated the views of these groups only less fully than those of the French. It has not always been an edifying struggle, and there is much in his record which both parties would perhaps be glad to forget. At no time has this ever been a straight contest between English and French. That would have meant national catastrophe; and the wisest of Canadian statesmen have always been conscious of that danger, and have shaped their policies to avert it. Conflict, often violent and bitter, forms a large ingredient of this history; but there has, too, been effective co-operation, and it is this co-operation, between such men as La Fontaine and Baldwin, Cartier and MacDonald, Laurier and Blake, MacKenzie King and Lapointe, that has created the only unity possible in Canada. Mr. Wade's book is more than a history of French Canada. It is a history of this difficult and complex process of nation building, with the emphasis on the effects which the process has had on this particular community, and on the contribution which they have made to it. That contribution has not been negligible. Without the vision, the moderation, and the good sense of the French Canadian statesmen whose names have just been mentioned, the history of Canada would have followed a different course, and it is by no means certain that the country would have been, as in fact it has been, the pioneer in that remarkable development that has led from colonial status to nationhood.

On one point there must be disagreement. Mr. Wade describes the French Canadians as "the Sinn Feiners of North America." The comparison is tempting, but it is surely erroneous. Whatever Sinn Fein may have meant to its earlier advocates, it has come to be identified with republicanism and with the repudiation of all connection with Great Britain. French Canadian nationalism, as expounded by such men as Mercier, Bourassa, Lavergne, and others, has often been narrow and extreme. But in the minds of the great mass of the French Canadian people it has never meant republicanism, nor has it ever involved disloyalty to the crown, or desire to sever the connection with Britain. On the contrary, the great majority of them, and not least their clerical leaders, have always regarded that connection as one of the certain bulwarks for the defense of the rights and liberties secured by confederation. It is to be hoped that Mr. Wade's book will have the effect which he desires, of dispelling "some of the misunderstandings which have caused needless friction between Canadians of different cultural backgrounds." But such a statement, given some prominence in his preface, may create a misleading impression of the true nature of the nationalism whose history he has so fully delineated.

Donald J. McDougall

University of Toronto

Henry George. By Charles Albro Barker. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xvii, 696. $9.50.)

The underlying thesis propounded by Dr. Barker is this: to confine Henry George's importance to the doctrine of community confiscation of the unearned increment of land, or the Single Tax School, as a panacea for economic inequities, is to do violence to his entire professional life as editor, author, lecturer, and campaigner. George was a powerful promoter of individual freedom. Man's fundamental right is the right to himself. This is the end to which he labored in defense of capitalism, free trade, and anti-monopoly; this end he sought in his fight for repeal of discriminatory taxes, public ownership of common utilities, and a basic minimum of state interference in the activities of man and group. The abolition of private property values in land was the root means for personal freedom of all mankind.

Professor Barker depicts George as a social philosopher whose center of reference was always God and the natural law as the foundation of social morality. In associating the term "Christian" with George, however, the author is as semantically confusing as was the reformer himself. For while George was never an orthodox Christian in a strict sense, his conception of a true republic was always a "Christian Republic." To complete the moral and religious character of George's reformism, Dr. Barker shows his seminal influence in the rise of the social gospel and his association with ministers and Catholic priests as consultants and correspondents. Yet the religious character of his reform was always balanced by his distinct anti-clericalism, especially directed toward the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. This is clearly evidenced in the author's analysis of the case of Father Edward McGlynn. Dr. Barker indicates that George made a mighty impact on the American Progressive movement; and the liberal, radical and Fabian-socialist movements in Britain. In the Barker book, leading personalities in these movements give ample testimony of George's influence.

Students of Catholic thought and influence should be strongly affected by Barker's study of George's mayoralty defeat in 1886, and the author's suggestion that an atmosphere had been created by Archbishop Corrigan which made a George victory impossible. There is also the suggestion that the failure of organized labor to build a successful and permanent labor party in the United States as of 1886 was due in considerable part to the opposition of the Catholic hierarchy. There is finally Dr. Barker's impressive treatment of George's book, *Condition of Labor*, written in response to George's disagreement with the thesis on land ownership in Leo XIII's *Rerum novarum*. Barker stresses the Georgian claim that the labor encyclical originated in 1891, not as an affirmative guide for mankind, nor primarily as a condemnation of Marxian socialism, but as an attack on George himself.

Scholars owe a debt to the author for his having given them an immense biography of a leading American nineteenth-century reformer. This is probably the definitive study of Henry George and no more detailed treatment, at least, seems possible. Of course, this is not the initial study of importance of the man, his philosophy and activities; nor is it the first serious biography of the American dissenter, whose influence in America and Ireland, the British Empire, Russia, China, and the Vatican Dr. Barker seeks to establish.

In 1931 Albert Jay Nock contributed an esteemed and readable book on George, an essay of considerable length. George R. Geiger, in 1933, published his excellent empirical treatment of the *Philosophy of Henry George*. No survey of post-Civil War America could be adequate without due appraisal of the author of *Progress and Poverty* (New York, 1879), which came to be among the most widely sold American books, here and abroad. Thus, Parrington and Lewis, Curti and Gabriel, Hofstader and Goldman, as well as many other historians of American civilization, have sought to give due place and meaning to this American crusader, whose eight published works were to promote the cause of personal freedom everywhere through equality of individual economic opportunity for all. His son and daughter, Henry Jr., and Anna George de Mille, both recorded the life and influence of their controversial father, with the particular insight of members of his family. Over an interval of fifty years each gave to the public a separate biography.

Each of these many studies has its particular value for the student of ideas and institutions; all, save the biography of Henry Jr., are more readable than Barker's monumental work. Yet, no student can afford to be unacquainted with the latter. It is here only that the whole Henry George is to be found interpreted. There is little in the previous studies, and nothing of significance, that the Barker book does not contain in infinite detail. The author's diligent research is evident throughout some seven hundred pages. His forty-five pages of notes on the sources will prove most useful to all students of American-Anglo culture in the period covered.

Dr. Barker must have had no doubt that George's significance in his own time, and indirectly in ours, well merits his revisionist and too often fatiguing treatment. He does, indeed, succeed in fixing the importance of the reformer, who was always unable to draw a dichotomy between morals, and religion, economics and politics.

The author, professor of history at the Johns Hopkins University, writes with clarity of thought and expression. His respect for George is apparent throughout; yet he is to be commended for his efforts at objectivity. On the whole, however, the book is dull reading. Dr. Barker is passionless even when George is irate, and the reformer's lack of humor is matched only by the author's unrelieved seriousness. The detail is exhaustive; no doubt judicious selectivity of the sources would have focused more sharply the really significant influence George exerted on many contemporary institutions and attitudes here and in Britain; perhaps, often in a manner he could not have foreseen, and would have found unacceptable in the cause of the free man and the free world.

JAMES A. O'CONNELL

St. John's University
Brooklyn

P. G. T. Beauregard—Napoleon in Gray. By T. Harry Williams. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1954. Pp. xiii, 345. $4.75.)

P. G. T. Beauregard's career offers rich material for a biography—a colorful and strong figure molding dramatic and fateful events. Exploiting these resources fully, T. Harry Williams writes a fascinating biography in terms of character and military drama. *Napoleon in Gray* follows a major current of the Civil War from Fort Sumter through First Manassas, Shiloh, the siege of Charleston, and to its climax at the surrender to Sherman in North Carolina. After the war Beauregard demonstrated his adaptability to the conditions imposed by the new South by rebuilding railroads and presiding over the Louisiana Lottery. His success in gaining wealth was a far cry from the pattern of "sacrifice and poverty and frustration" common to many of the defeated southern warriors.

Williams rightly terms such a career unusual in the Confederacy and more significant to the student of the Civil War in many ways than that of any other Confederate general. Beauregard's experience was not limited to a narrow area as was Lee's, nor did it lack continuity as did that of several other outstanding generals. None of the excitement surrounding this unique leader is lost, and the author makes Beauregard's plans and campaigns clear to the layman. The author is particularly successful in delineating the character of the paradoxical Creole general. Episodes from his military life are effectively used to reveal facets of a complex personality. Never does Professor Williams hesitate to offer a critical judgment concerning the many bitter controversies in which Beauregard was involved. Nor does he evade the central question of the general's military ability. The title is inconsistent with Williams' sound judgment on that score—Beauregard was no "Napoleon in Gray"; he was a frustrated general in gray. Periods of inactivity in his command found Beauregard turning "his mind to plans for generals in other theaters" for winning a battle or the war. Even when applied to his own area, Beauregard's specific plans were unrealistic, despite the soundness of his general idea and his exceptional ability as a combat officer.

Napoleon in Gray suffers in that Beauregard's activities are not correlated to the war as a whole. The author moves from Fort Sumter to Manassas with no indication of the intervening struggle to complete the Confederacy. Lee in 1863 figures only briefly as a part of the grand strategic schemes of Beauregard to win the war. The omission of transitional paragraphs mars the style of an otherwise excellent military biography.

Mr. Williams writes with pace and polish; his *Napoleon in Gray* is a first-rate biography of a "first-rate second-class military man."

HORACE J. SHEELY, JR.

Colonial Williamsburg

James J. Hill: A Great Life in Brief. By Stewart H. Holbrook. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955. Pp. 205, vii. $2.50.)

The reputation of "Empire Builder" in an era of expanding democracy belongs to James Jerome Hill, who like many another robber baron lived to bask in the sunshine of his philanthropy. As architect of the Great Northern Railroad, Hill is an easy challenge to Stewart Holbrook, his biographer. As a man, however, Hill sometimes eludes the author's grasp. This is not to deny that Holbrook has employed to great advantage his personal knowledge of the Northwest and his ability to make the story of a railroad magnate more than fascinating. Yet Hill the husband and father, Hill the human, does not stand fully revealed. Born in Canada in 1838, his life was spent primarily in the United States and he was known as both villain and hero. At an early age he determined to make his own way, and he conditioned himself by drinking, gambling some, and enjoying a good time as he clerked along the western frontier. Although he was destined to play the role of an eloquent statesman in an age of cynicism, the author is pleased to cite Archbishop Ireland's opinion that Hill, the man who built a half-million dollar seminary in St. Paul, "wasted in foolish frolics neither his money nor his time" (p. 18).

The Civil War left little or no mark on Hill, who was preoccupied with money-making schemes. Liberal land grants, "the prevailing business-promotion ethics of the period" which "were of the widest latitude," and the occasional "helpful activities of legislators" (p. 42), conspired to rocket Hill into a position of prominence in the Northwest. In business he was a man of easy principles, but in hiring and firing men to build his railroads Hill was rugged. At Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Chicago, he maintained "man-catchers" to recruit labor-hungry immigrants. Hill insisted that fares to the job be prepaid and then he stationed "a huge thug at each car door to prevent skipping before reaching the job. . ." (p. 60). It must be admitted that men worked for Hill and they worked hard. They liked it when he worked them and called them by their first names.

Literary whitewash is not part of Holbrook's biographical approach, and he has only scorn for the pious platitudes uttered by Hill's official biographer who compounded a two-volume story in 1916-1917 (Joseph Gilpin Pyle, *The Life of James J. Hill*). Hill was as cruel as he was charitable, and even at fifty-eight he possessed "power and ability sufficient to battle abler and much younger men to a standstill" (p. 130). For the most part Hill was a law unto himself, and he enjoyed poking fun at the very idea of an Interstate Commerce Commission. He told shippers and stockholders that he was the one best qualified to fix the long and short haul rates. He objected to fighting for his life against political adventurers who had never done anything but pose and draw a salary. The Hill story is best as a business biography of a tycoon who felt "he owed the public nothing" and who successfully concealed "the imprint of an open heart, understanding and sympathy." After all, argues Holbrook, Hill was an emperor who "had tasks that would brook no trifling" (p. 184). The reader will have to search elsewhere for a glimpse of Hill the family man and Hill the socializer. All a person garners from this story is that the man with one good eye was frequently a curse on men's lips:

> Twixt Hill and Hell, there's just one letter;
> Were Hill in Hell, we'd feel much better (p. 197).

This brief biography moves rapidly in the vehicle of a delightful style. Hill races through its pages as salty, ruthless, and domineering. Blind in one eye, the result of a boyhood game, Hill was considered by his friends as a man of broad vision, despite the fact that he recognized but one law—"the survival of the fittest." Stopping Hill required anti-trust legislation with teeth and a Supreme Court with backbone. It is a matter of regret that the author and the publisher did not possess the same backbone and so include the documentation which would give an interesting life greater authenticity and scholarship.

Georgetown University

HARRY J. SIEVERS

The American People in the Twentieth Century. By Oscar Handlin. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 244. $3.75.)

This volume, one of the Library of Congress Series in American Civilization, is another of Mr. Handlin's studies dealing with immigrants to the United States. Previous works covered the earlier years; this book describes the arrival of hordes of people during the first half of the present century, the problems they faced, and their impact on the country and on the citizens of various sections. None is left out; French Canadians, Mexicans, Italians, Portuguese, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Poles, Germans, Irishmen, Scandinavians—all are mentioned at lengths appropriate to their numbers and to their effect on the American scene. The fact that good proportions of the new arrivals were Catholics, and their coming created complicated situations for the Church and for native Catholics, makes this a book of special interest for those concerned with the history of the American Church.

The author begins with a picture of America in 1900, mainly in terms of the people, of whom a third were foreign-born or the children of the foreign-born. He then describes the plight of the Negro as he faced the steady drive of segregationists and racists to set him completely apart. With the appearance of the assorted types of Europeans, racism—which had already branded the Chinese and the Japanese as undesirable—increased by leaps and bounds until all foreign-born were regarded with suspicion. The immigrant found himself struggling to adjust to the transition from agricultural to industrial pursuits, from rural to urban life, and at the same time forced to contend with the hostility of Americans who did not want to live, work, or associate with him. There was a more benevolent attitude toward Aryan or Nordic peoples, and the heaviest opposition was aimed at Catholics and Semites among the new arrivals.

Arguments going the rounds before the American entrance into World War I highlighted the differences. Actual participation speeded up the pressure for 100% Americanism and the elimination of all "hyphenates" (though, as Mr. Handlin remarks, the hyphen in Anglo-American was somehow overlooked). The American people drifted rapidly into a veritable orgy of hatred for all things German. The one big hope was President Wilson's advocacy of the principle of self-determination, and all the people who had come to the United States from the small oppressed regions of Europe looked for a great change. Peace brought shattering disappointment, especially to the Irish and the Jews. Loyalty now meant conformity, and the "red scare" led to the full-fledged xenophobia aimed at all foreign-born, then at Jews and Catholics. The Ku Klux Klan spread apace, strict laws were enacted to cut down immigration, and the depression came with its crushing impact and paved the way for a complete halt to immigration.

World War II and its sequels—"a decade of global war"—saw the internment in California of thousands of Japanese-Americans ("the most shameful episode in recent American history"), and the passage of the

McCarran-Walter Act, which is described as a return to old restrictions in a more rigid and less tolerant form. At mid-century, however, Mr. Handlin feels that the American people face the future with a more enlightened approach; they have not abandoned groupings based on ethnic origins, yet the divisions are less hard-and-fast, and individuals participate freely in varied associations not based on racial or national origins. The inheritance from past generations now adds richness and strength to the democratic way of life.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Loyola College
Baltimore

America at Mid-Century. By André Siegfried. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1955. Pp. ix, 357. $5.75.)

André Siegfried, French historian and economist, has visited the United States fifteen times in a period spanning half a century. His earlier observations on the American nation were recorded in *America Comes of Age,* which was well received by reviewers on both sides of the Atlantic following its publication in 1927. In *America at Mid-Century* he essays an appraisal of a United States profoundly changed by depression and war, a nation which has risen immeasurably in power and importance in the past three decades. In his analysis, Mr. Siegfried gives great emphasis to such factors as geography, race, religion, and economics, with politics receiving slightly less attention, and literature and the arts virtually none. Starting from the premise that the subject of his analysis is a form of civilization which, though western, is different from the traditional civilization of Europe, and becoming more so, his task is to explain to his European readers, from a European point of view, in what this difference consists and how it came to be. In this frame of reference, his approach becomes understandable. What the American reader might consider a trite discussion of the social and psychological consequences of the geographical vastness and physical wealth of the United States, serves a valid purpose in introducing the average European to something beyond the scope of his personal experience. So, too, in this context, his concern with the problem of the existence of an "American race" becomes less puzzling.

His completed picture, however, will change few European notions of America. Despite the complexity of its presentation, it is a linear perspective familiar in its simplicity to Americans and Europeans alike. The American nation through a fortuitous combination of circumstances is incredibly wealthy; the American people, collectively naive, gullible, and youthfully optimistic, equate this accidental wealth with a moral superiority. This assumption naturally colors the American view of foreigners and influences attitudes toward such things as immigration and foreign policy. Domestically, this naiveté and gullibility make the American receptive to all types of political, social, and religious quackery.

It is, perhaps, unfair to Mr. Siegfried to reduce this portion of his analysis to such simple terms since in his detailed presentation he does offer an occasional valuable insight. Penetrating observations are somewhat more frequent, however, in his extended remarks on the American economy. (Incidentally, he believes that the American carries more psychological scars from the Great Depression than from World War II.) His admiration for the social justice aspect of the "neocapitalism" which he sees emerging from the American mass production-mass consumption economy is obvious, but he holds that such economic development is impossible in divided Europe. "The United States is unaware of the degree to which it has been favored by nature and destiny, and the extent to which things are made easy when one is borne along on a rising tide." In economics, as in other areas, American superiority flows essentially from dumb luck!

The commentary on American politics is distinguished by neither perspicacity nor accuracy. Although his statistics on population and the economy are current, Mr. Siegfried relies heavily on older—and limited—sources for his documentation of social trends; the 1920's are well represented (through Sinclair Lewis and the Lynds), the 1930's less so, and the 1940's and 1950's hardly at all. The result is strangely anachronistic. In addition, Mr. Siegfried's evaluations are seasoned with terms such as "Puritanism" and "un-American," which, though obviously not limited to their conventional meanings, are very loosely defined. Finally, the work is marred by numerous, and occasionally incredible, errors of fact.

FRANK GERRITY

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LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

History of the Americas. Volume II. *The American Nations.* By John Francis Bannon. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1952. Pp. xi, 568. $5.50.)

In Volume II of this work Dr. Bannon continues his story of the history of the western hemisphere in the true Bolton tradition. The history of the Americas is still a course which is given in relatively few colleges throughout the country, largely because it is anti-traditional. However, the fact that the major developments in the western hemisphere have all evolved along a broad pattern, lends considerable importance to the Bolton point of view. This is the basic pattern of this excellent work, to display the whole of the western hemisphere as interrelated.

Once one gets down to cases in the matter of preparation of such a text there are many difficulties that present themselves. Perhaps, one of the greatest is the matter of importance to be given to the various countries and the various epochs. Obviously, since the book is written primarily for the use of North American students, the natural tendency of an author is to give more attention to the development of the United States than to many of the other countries of the continent. In his book Father Bannon has followed this natural trend, but he has also carried out a carefully calculated balance so that even the smallest political divisions have been given sufficient attention to acquaint the student with the important points in their history.

Of interest to those who follow current events is the treatment of recent history, viz., the years from 1920 to the present day. This is a period which is very often neglected or very superficially treated in many works. Father Bannon, however, applies the same clear analysis and impartial treatment to recent historical developments that he devotes to the earlier sections of the work. As evidence, one might call the reader's attention to his treatment of the Calles regime in Mexico, to the development of the Peronista movement in Argentina, and to the coming of the New Deal in the United States—all of which are treated with a thoroughness and objectivity which is a tribute to the author's skill.

Other features make this two-volume set highly recommendable for college use. In the first place, the short outline at the beginning of each chapter gives the student an excellent thumbnail sketch of what is to be taken up and studied, a feature that is also valuable for review purposes. At the end of each chapter there is a short bibliography of popular and rather easily obtained books, supplemented by a more detailed and critical bibliography at the end. Here each country is taken up individually and the basic secondary works on its history and the development of its social institutions are carefully analyzed. This reviewer is especially interested in Brazil, and it is his opinion that Dr. Bannon has recommended most of the important works on the development of the empire and the republic, as well as those few works of great importance which have thrown some light on the social and anthropological development of the largest nation of South America.

In recommending this work, this reviewer feels that it is one of the best textbook treatments he has seen of the history of the American continent. The only regret, in his opinion, is that the history of the Americas as a course is not more widely taught so that such a book as this could be more generally adopted.

THOMAS E. DOWNEY
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Rio de Janeiro

Carlos de Alvear, Man of Revolution. By Thomas B. Davis, Jr. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1955. Pp. vii, 305. $5.75.)

Argentines have liberally praised General Carlos de Alvear for his services in the War of Independence and the war with Brazil. His political course has been but partly known, since his diplomatic career was never systematically studied. In this volume Professor Davis concentrates on Alvear's missions to England and the United States in 1824, to Bolivar in Upper Peru in 1825, and his work as Argentine Minister to the United States from 1838 to 1852. In terms of inter-American relations, this study would chronologically continue the history begun by Benjamin Keen's *David Curtis de Forest and the Revolution of Buenos Aires* (New Haven, 1947), which could have been more fully used here.

The author first outlines the better known aspects of Alvear's life: birth in 1789, education in England, brief service in the peninsular wars before accompanying San Martín to Buenos Aires in 1812, and his early military career in America. At this point it becomes clear that Alvear's one aim is political. Fortune and military success are important aids to intrigue for advance to power. The resounding failure of his short tenure as supreme director never convinces him of his own mediocrity, but his arrogance rather leads him petulantly to offer his services to the Spanish crown, then to follow this by waging war against successive governments of Buenos Aires in the civil wars between that province and the Banda Oriental.

The amnesty of Bernardino Rivadavia in 1821 made his return to Buenos Aires possible. Rivadavia, however, sent him at once on a secret mission to George Canning in the hope of English recognition and financial aid. Should this fail (as it does for the moment), Alvear was to proceed directly to the United States in his publicly known character of special envoy. As the circumstances unfold one is persuaded that the real purpose in dispatching Alvear was to rid the Argentine capital of a political troublemaker whose support was dreaded far more than his enmity. The mission to the United States could only be termed a slight success, for Argentina had already shown too great indifference to the northern republic and this she would continue to do. Alvear insisted on returning to Buenos Aires, only to be sent to Bolívar to seek the Liberator's assistance for Argentina in the impending war with Brazil. As soon as a cabinet position seemed even possible, Alvear abruptly left his negotiation incomplete. He did serve with distinction in the field, especially at Itzaingó, but political supremacy still eluded him. Appointed Minister to the United States in 1832 by the dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas, he was not ordered to the northern nation until 1838. By this date Argentine neglect of the United States had become so offensive that there was little likelihood of securing assistance against the two French blockades during Alvear's tenure as minister, while the southern republic's preference for first approaching England made the United States' stand on the Falkland Islands question understandable, however inconsistent it might be.

An appendix offers the text of Alvear's reply to Canning's questionnaire of 1824, the text of the report from Alvear on the interview in which President Monroe discussed his "doctrine," and a very able solution of the source problem arising from this account. In sum, the mass of detail presented by Professor Davis becomes an admirable complement to the other publications on special aspects of this period.

Michael B. McCloskey

Siena College

NOTES AND COMMENTS

On the occasion of the Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences in Rome in September, 1955, there was organized the International Commission of Ecclesiastical History with a view to co-ordinating the efforts of the historians of the various churches and religions of the world. Father Léopold Willaert, S.J., dean of the faculty at Namur, was chosen as president with Professor Gerhard Ritter of the University of Freiburg in Breisgau and Dean R. Pallanque of the University of Aix-Marseille as vice presidents. Representing the United States on the sub-committee for this country are Dr. Raymond W. Albright of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Professor Roland H. Bainton of Yale University, and Professor Oscar Halecki of Fordham University. Among the approximately twenty-five sub-committees already set up is one for Vatican City of which Monsignor Pio Paschini, Rector of the Lateran Athenaeum, is president.

Among the subjects selected by the I.C.E.H. for special study in the five-year period, 1955-1960, until the International Congress of Historical Sciences convenes again in Stockholm, are: the Gregorian Reform in a diocesan framework; a bibliography of the religious revolt of the sixteenth century; ecclesiastical cartography; and the relations of the churches to civilizations other than that of western Europe. The commission decided upon issuing two publications: a semi-annual bulletin to contain information on the activities of the I.C.E.H., and an annual *cahier* of studies in ecclesiastical history which will embody particular questions of interest to students of church history, the results of the work of the various specialized sub-committees, etc.

The organization of the International Commission of Ecclesiastical History, and its close affiliation with the International Congress of Historical Sciences, suggests a practical remedy for the divorce of general secular history from church history which, as Christopher Dawson remarked several years ago, could not be satisfactory to any serious historian since, as he said, "it destroyed the intelligible unity of culture and left the history of culture itself suspended uneasily between political and ecclesiastical history with no firm basis in either of them." [*Understanding Europe* (New York, 1952), p. 13.] An account of the Church's participation in the Congress was given in the article by A. Martini, S.J., "La chiesa al X° Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche," in *La Civiltà Cattolica* of October 15, 1955.

From time to time the REVIEW will carry further news concerning the I.C.E.H. Meanwhile anyone who desires more detailed information may communicate with either of the secretaries: Dr. L. E. Halkin, 41, rue du

Péry, Liège, Belgique, and M. M. Pacaut, 36 bis, rue de la Muette, Maisons-Lafitte (S.-O.), France.

William D. Hoyt, Jr., associate professor of history in Loyola College, Baltimore, has been named chairman of the Association's Committee on the John Carroll Papers. He will take over the responsibility for the committee from Henry J. Browne, archivist and associate professor of history in the Catholic University of America. As secretary of the committee since 1951, when it was inaugurated under his direction, Father Browne has directed the work of collecting Carroll materials and he will continue to serve on the committee. Mr. Hoyt, who is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, took his A.B. degree at Washington and Lee University and his doctorate at the Johns Hopkins University in 1940 with a study entitled *Colonel William Fleming on the Virginia Frontier, 1755-1783* (Baltimore, 1942). For one year he served on the staff of the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia and during the years 1943-1947 he was assistant director of the Maryland Historical Society. Since 1947, when he became a convert to the Catholic Church, Mr. Hoyt has been on the faculty at Loyola and in 1953 was appointed librarian of the college. His training and research in the period of Carroll's lifetime, and his experience with the manuscript collections of the Maryland Historical Society, give him special qualifications for the work of the committee of which he is now chairman.

In anticipation of the sesquicentennial of the Archdiocese of Boston, which was erected as a diocese on April 8, 1808, Archbishop Richard J. Cushing has designated Annabelle M. Melville to write a biography of Jean Cheverus (1768-1836) who served as first Bishop of Boston from 1810 to 1823. Cheverus ended his life thirteen years later as Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux. Mrs. Melville is the author of two previous biographies of prominent Catholic figures of the early national period, viz., *Elizabeth Bayley Seton, 1724-1821* (New York, 1951) and *John Carroll of Baltimore* (New York, 1955). The latter volume won the John Gilmary Shea Prize of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1955. Anyone who knows the whereabouts of Cheverus material will confer a favor on Mrs. Melville by informing her at 30 Maple Avenue, Bridgewater, Massachusetts.

The 250th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin on January 17 was widely celebrated throughout the country with the most important item being, of course, the announcement of a definitive edition of Franklin's works as a joint project of the American Philosophical Society and Yale University. In that connection it is interesting to recall the close relations of Franklin with John Carroll, the first American Catholic bishop. They traveled to and from Canada together in the spring of 1776 on the fruitless mission to enlist the Canadians in the revolutionary cause, and during the trip they became quite good friends. It was while serving as American minister to France in 1783 that Franklin was brought into the discussion concerning the future organization of the Church in the new republic, and he exercised considerable influence in having the Holy See approve Carroll in June, 1784, as superior of the Catholic missions in the United States, an appointment which five years later led directly to his election as the first Bishop of Baltimore. After Franklin's return from France the friendship was renewed and when Carroll's nephew by marriage, George Digges, had occasion to visit Philadelphia, Father Carroll sent along the following letter to the old doctor:

> Hon. and much respected Sir:
>
> Mr. Digges will have the honour of presenting you these few lines. His business calls him to Philada. & he is desirous of paying his respects, when they are so justly due from every friend of his country and indeed of human kind. He is my relative & has often heard me speak of you in such terms as have added to his veneration for your character. For I do with truth assure you, that I esteem it as one of the most fortunate and honourable events of my life, that I had an opportunity of forming an acquaintance with you & I flatter myself with having inspired you with some sentiments of regard & more than general benevolence towards me.
>
> That you may long continue to be the blessing of your Country, is the wish of all its friends; and that you may not only live to enlighten & better mankind but continue to do so with freedom from sickness & pain is the earnest wish of
>
> Hon. Dear Sir
> Yr. Most devoted &
> Obliged sert.
> J. Carroll
>
> Georgetown[1]
> April 2d, 1787

A conference on French history was held at the University of Pennsylvania on February 3-4 under the chairmanship of Professor Lynn Case of the Pennsylvania faculty. More than seventy-five historians from all sections of the country attended and enthusiastically endorsed the resolution to form a permanent organization of American scholars interested in French history under the title, Society for French Historical Studies. Membership in the society would permit teachers in the field to keep abreast of recent research and to make contact with source materials in France. The annual meeting for 1957 will be held in New York. Anyone interested should write the secretary-treasurer, Professor David Pickney at the University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

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[1] Martin I. J. Griffin, *Catholics and the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1911) III, 257.

The following papers were read at the 1956 meeting: Henry Guerlac of Cornell University, "Franklin and the French Scientists"; Richard M. Brace of Northwestern, "The Social Origins of the Girondins in the National Convention"; Gilbert Chinard of Princeton, "Franklin and the Convention of 1791"; Shepard B. Clough of Columbia, "The History of the Monnet Plan"; Val C. Lorwin of Chicago, "Reflections on the History of the French and American Trade Unions"; Traian Stoianovich, "Collectivism and Individualism in the French Agrarian Economy of the 18th Century"; René Albrecht-Carrie of Barnard, "French Power and the Organization of Europe after World War I"; L. Boone Atkinson, "French Military Power and the Communists in Parliament, 1945-1954"; Donald C. McKay of Harvard, "The Third Republic Revisited"; Crane Brinton of Harvard, "Clashing French Generations since 1800." Lively discussion, following the papers, and opportunities to view Franklin material enhanced the value of the meeting.

The vice president of the new society is the Reverend Joseph N. Moody, professor of history in Cathedral College, New York.

For its thirty-seventh annual meeting held in Washington on January 26-27 the American Council of Learned Societies assembled twelve scholars who were divided four each into three panels for an entire day's discussion of the general topic, "Progress and Survival. Present-Day Relevance of Eighteenth-Century Thought." The three panels had as their respective themes: "Theories of Man," "Origins of the American State," and "Theories of Art and Aesthetics." The main conclusions were reported at a public evening session which also heard President Barnaby C. Keeney of Brown University in an address entitled, "Progress and Education—Then and Now."

The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies has announced the publication of a series of monographs entitled Texts and Studies. The first two volumes are to be published on May 1, viz., *Nine Mediaeval Thinkers: A Collection of Hitherto Unedited Texts* edited by J. R. O'Donnell, C.S.B., and *Saint Peter Damiani and His Canonical Sources: A Prelim-*

inary Study in the Antecedents of the Gregorian Reform by J. Joseph Ryan. Other volumes are in preparation.

The *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for September, 1955, is devoted to "Higher Education under Stress."

Franklin E. Fitzpatrick is the author of a brochure, *Vincentians in Brooklyn, 1855-1955,* which tells the story in seventy pages of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in the Diocese of Brooklyn. The text is accompanied by a note on the sources, an adequate index, and eight good illustrations in this attractive booklet. Father Fitzpatrick teaches history in Cathedral College, Brooklyn.

Demetrio Mansilla is the author of "Disputas diocesanas entre Toledo, Braga y Compostela en los siglos XII al XV" which appears in the *Anthologica annua publicaciones del instituto español de estudios eclesiásticos* [III (1955), 89-143].

Atlante, the quarterly review published by the Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Councils of London, ceased publication with the October, 1955, issue (III, No. 4). Students in the field of Ibero-American studies will learn of this with regret, for *Atlante* had managed very successfully to be interesting as well as scholarly. Continually increasing costs forced the suspension of the journal.

An American division of the Instituto per la storia del risorgimento italiano was organized at a meeting of about twenty scholars held at the Brookings Institute in Washington on December 28, 1955. Dr. Kent Roberts Greenfield has been elected president and the executive secretary-treasurer is Professor Howard R. Marraro who may be reached by interested parties at the Casa Italiana, Columbia University, New York 27, New York. The annual dues for membership are $4.00.

The University of Notre Dame has announced the establishment of two John Lingard Fellowships in history for graduate students who will work with Father Philip Hughes in the period of the Religious Revolt of the sixteenth century. At least one year of practical training in historical method and a knowledge of foreign languages, including Latin, are prerequisites for the recipients of these fellowships.

During the present semester a course in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States was offered in an adult education program in St. Cloud, Minnesota, by Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., assistant professor of history in Saint John's University, Collegeville, with very successful results. Father Barry's class has enrolled nineteen students who have met one evening a week for a two-hour session. This is a method that might well be tried in other parts of the country as a means of furnishing to interested Catholic laity an opportunity to learn something about the history of the Church in this country, since such courses are lacking in the curricula of most of our Catholic universities, colleges, and seminaries.

There are too few biographers of the Catholic men and women in lay life who have played such an important role in supporting the growth of the Church in the United States. Because of the mobility of the Catholic population in the country only a few families maintained themselves in the region of their ancestors. The only possible sources of this family history are the family letters, diaries, and journals. There are several recent Catholics whose biographies cannot be written because descendants have either carelessly or wilfully destroyed these family papers. Once the papers are gone, the best of intentions and even grand monetary aid cannot make possible the intimate materials necessary for a new biography. In a sense, the loss of these laymen's papers is more severe than the destruction of official archives.

Among the papers of Bishop Simon Bruté of Vincennes is a map of his diocese around which he compiled statistics about his own diocese and comparable statistics on the other dioceses of the United States in 1838. One important set of statistics refers to the other religious groups in his frontier jurisdiction, then composed of the State of Indiana and the eastern third of Illinois. He maintained that one-third of the people in the diocese did not belong to any church (*les rienistes*), a figure and proportion that is usually missing in studies of religion on the frontier. That these people were unfriendly to the Church is doubtful since Bruté and his fellow bishop, Benedict Joseph Flaget of Bardstown, his predecessor at Vincennes, Father Jean Leon Champomier, and his successor, Bishop Celestine de la Hailandière, all insisted that there was little bigotry on the frontier in their day. There is probably some connection between these Americans of no denomination and the later growth of secularism.

The annual report of the Commission for Catholic Missions among the Colored People and the Indians for 1955 again shows gains in almost all categories. The incomplete total for the Negro Catholics was 483,671, which included 10,101 converts who entered the Church last year. The 323 schools for colored children enrolled 80,378 pupils. Among the American Indians there are now 112,409 Catholics with 799 converts enrolled in 1955, and the fifty-eight schools for Indian children have a total of 8,022 pupils. The churches and mission stations for the Negroes exclusively now total 473 while there are 408 such for the Indian Catholics. The colored are served by 673 priests and 224 priests are engaged in the work of the Indian missions. Those interested in this official agency of the American hierarchy for Negro and Indian Catholics may obtain a copy of the report by addressing the secretary of the commission at 2021 H Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

At a meeting held in Florence at the initiative of the Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento on September 2, 1955, plans were discussed for the publication of the correspondence of Lorenzo il Magnifico de' Medici. Plans call for completion of the necessary preliminary work by December, 1957.

Students of intellectual history will find helpful the first five volumes published of the monumental *Grande antologia filosofica,* directed by U. A. Padovani, co-ordinated by A. M. Moschetti, published by Carlo Marzorati, Milan, Via Borromei, 1 B/7, 1954. Volume I is concerned with Greek and Roman thought, by authors and schools; Volume II gives an analysis of ancient thought, including chapters on religious thought, esthetics, concepts of history, scientific thought, pedagogy, political and legal thought, economic doctrines. Volumes III and IV are concerned with writers of the patristic and mediaeval periods; while Volume V gives an analysis of thought of the same period, with chapters similar to those indicated for Volume II. In each chapter a specialist gives a general discussion, bibliographical study, and then pertinent illustrative selections (translated into

Italian). Some of the contributors include: Carlo Diano (Greek historical thought), Luigi Stefanini (Plato), Mario del Pra (Greek scepticism), Paolo Dezza, S.J. (Christian philosophy), B. Nardi (Dante), E. Betonni (William of Ockham). When completed the work will comprise fifteen volumes, coming up to the contemporary period.

Xavier University, Cincinnati, has inaugurated an Institute of Hispanic Studies, a curriculum leading to degrees, with majors in Spanish literature and history, and an auxiliary certificate in foreign trade.

Father Herman Muller, S.J., of John Carroll University is chairman of the program committee of the Ohio Academy of History for its April meeting, at which Dr. Edmund Kearney of the same institution will present a study of some phase of Bossuet's philosophy of history. The organization has for its objective the assembly of majors in history of a group of institutions in northeastern Ohio to read and discuss papers just as is done in the major historical conventions.

On November 18 the Department of Social Studies of the New Jersey State Teachers College held a centennial conference at Trenton. Members of the Departments of History, Social Studies, and Political Science of Princeton, Seton Hall, and Rutgers Universities participated. Eric Goldman of Princeton University delivered an address on "American Reform in the Twentieth Century, a Backward and a Forward Look."

The National Records Management Council is offering three fellowships of $1,000 each for three months of study and research in records management and archival administration. Inquiries may be addressed to the council at 555 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York.

The American University will again sponsor its annual summer institutes in both records management (June 18-29) and archives administration (June 18-July 13). Interested persons may address their inquiries to Professor Ernst Posner, 1901 F Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Volume L, No. 4, of the *Revue d'histoire ecclesiastique* in its *Chronique* carries a detailed analysis of the contents of the last number of *Traditio* and praises the high scholarly studies and importance of that journal.

The attention of our readers is called to the *Thesis Supplement No. 16* published by the *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research of the University of London. It reports the completion of a number of valuable studies in the field of ancient and mediaeval, as well as modern, history.

We welcome also the appearance of a new journal, *Historia,* published by the Instituto Colombiano de Estudios Historicos of Bogotá. This journal publishes articles, documents, notices, reviews and systematic bibliographies. The first number, among other things, contains a long article on Toynbee's study of history by Victor Alba.

A new journal, *Historia,* devoted to the history of Argentina, the New World, and Spain, has made its appearance in Buenos Aires under the direction of Dr. Raúl A. Molina. Father Guillermo Furlong, S.J., is among those on the editorial board. The address of *Historia* is Lavalle 1226, 2º piso, Buenos Aires.

We welcome the appearance of a new historical journal, *Spicilegium Historicum,* published by the Redemptorists in Rome. The new journal began in 1953 and the first three volumes indicate a high standard of scholarship. The journal publishes source materials that have a bearing on the history of the Redemptorist Congregation, historical articles, reviews, brief notices, and historical news dealing with the history of the Redemptorists.

Marshall W. Baldwin, president of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1941, has been promoted to the rank of full professor at New York University.

Celsus Kelly, O.F.M., of Sidney, Australia, is editing the Munilla diary of the Quirós expedition of 1605 to the South Seas for the Hakluyt Society of London.

Joseph T. Durkin, S.J., of Georgetown University has begun the writing of the biography of Thomas Sherman, S.J., the son of General William T. Sherman. Father Sherman had a notable career as a missioner and pulpit orator. His niece, Eleanor Sherman Fitch of New York, has been collecting family materials for this biography for many years and has made them available to Father Durkin.

Monsignor Martino Giusti, a member of the staff of the Vatican Archives since 1932 and vice prefect since 1949, has been named prefect in succession to the late Angelo Mercati. The newly appointed vice prefect is Monsignor Hermann Hoberg of the Diocese of Osnabrueck who has been associated with the Vatican Archives since 1950.

Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, C.J.M., of the Institut Catholique de Paris will be a visiting professor under the distinguished professors program at the University of Notre Dame during the fall semester of 1956-1957. Father de Bertier will lecture on French history, 1815-1870 and European diplomatic history, 1815-1914.

Dr. Armando Cortesão, the eminent Portuguese cartographer, is now in the United States on a special mission to examine maps in American libraries that may be included in the monumental *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* which will be published by the Portuguese government in time for the fifth centenary of the death of Prince Henry the Navigator in 1960.

Lewis Hanke and Manuel Giménez Fernández of the Universities of Texas and Seville, respectively, are actively engaged in preparations for the fourth centennial of the death of Bartolomé de Las Casas in 1966. Professor Hanke would be pleased to receive any suggestions for the commemoration, as well as progress reports on studies now under way on the Dominican bishop. He may be reached at Box 7691, University Station, Austin, Texas.

Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania, for many years the American member of the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, has been elected first vice-president of the institute. Manoel Cardozo of the Catholic University of America is the representative of the American Catholic Historical Association on Dr. Whitaker's advisory board.

Richard Connors, John Flood, and Charles A. Stefano have been appointed as instructors in the Department of Social Studies at Seton Hall University.

The death of Pierre David, professor in the Faculty of Letters of the University of Coimbra, occurred on September 16, 1955. Canon David was especially known abroad for his long and profitable association with the *Bulletin des études portugaises et de l'institut français au Portugal.*

Benjamín Gento Sanz, O.F.M., a resident member of the Academy of American Franciscan History, Washington, died unexpectedly on December 28, 1955, at the age of forty-five. Father Gento, a native of Spain, was raised in Quito, Ecuador, where he entered the Franciscan Order. He became known for his publications in the field of Spanish-American colonial art, and had worked in the archives of Mexico and Spain under the auspices of the academy. He was engaged at the time of his death in preparing an edition of the writings of Fray Narcisco Durán.

BRIEF NOTICES

Anson, Peter F. *The Call of the Cloister. Religious Communities and Kindred Bodies in the Anglican Communion.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1953. Pp. xvi, 641. $8.50.)

The work under review is an encyclopedic account of the rise and development of the religious life in the Church of England. From its quiet beginning at the dawn of the Oxford Movement, especially under the influence of Dr. Pusey, through the stormy period of popular misunderstanding, to the amazing growth and activities of the Anglican religious communities of the present day, Peter Anson delineates the history and spirit of community after community, in the chronological order of their origin, first of men and then of women, not only in England but throughout the British Empire and in the United States.

The Anglican religious communities are fortunate in having Mr. Anson as their "biographer." Though his work is not so much one of original scholarship, it is a very valuable compilation showing an amazing knowledge and use of secondary sources. Moreover, he brings to his subject an intimate knowledge of monastic life and an admiration for Anglican religious life, having himself lived as an oblate brother in the Anglican Benedictine community at Caldey and with them having been received into the Catholic Church. Anson's training at the Architectural Association of Schools and his lifelong interest in architecture—in temperament and tastes he has much in common with Pugin—finds expression in many pages through his detailed description of community buildings. It has been said that Anson became an author through necessity of earning a living rather than by choice, his first interests being seafaring and architecture. If that is so, it was fortunate, for he is at his best when describing the heroic sacrifices made by the men and women of the Church of England who wished to live the religious life. This story, as it comes from his pen—in spite of its encyclopedic character—is fascinating. (Adrian Fuerst)

Carter, Thomas Francis. *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward.* Revised by L. Carrington Goodrich. Second edition. (New York: Ronald Press. 1955. Pp. xxiv, 293. $10.00.)

This second, and thoroughly revised, edition of Carter's classic work is welcome as a new stimulant in focusing attention particularly on the significance of papermaking to western civilization. Secondly, we note again that various forms of printing from movable types and wood blocks long anticipated their European counterparts. "The great outstanding fact that has been shown by this inquiry is the parallelism in the working of the human mind on the two sides of the world, a parallelism that has been manifest at every stage in the history of printing" (p. 243).

Goodrich and Carter have achieved a fine synthesis in a readable, scholarly fashion, accompanied by suitable illustrations and tables, of two major aspects of the communication process. Of especial interest to this reviewer is the material on "Islam as a Barrier to Printing." (EUGENE P. WILLGING)

COURTNEY, FRANCIS, S.J. *Cardinal Robert Pullen: An English Theologian of the Twelfth Century.* (Romae: Apud Aedes Universitatis Gregorianae, 1954. Pp. xxiv, 285.)

The title of this work is misleading, for it might cause one to expect a definitive biography of Robert Pullen, one of the early scholastic theologians. Actually, the story of Cardinal Pullen's life occupies only a very brief first chapter. The remainder of the book concerns itself with his writings and his theological thought. In the second chapter the author discusses in some detail the extant writings of his subject, which include the *Libri sententiarum VIII,* a number of sermons, and a short ascetical work entitled *De contemptu mundi.* Questions concerning the authenticity of these works are dealt with, and an attempt is made to indicate the earlier theological thought and writings which in some way may have influenced their doctrine and presentation. This chapter is especially interesting in that the author comments on the teaching methods current among the theologians of the twelfth century and on the manner in which theological writings were organized. Following this, Pullen's teaching on the great doctrines of Christianity are considered in detail. It is shown that he was not only orthodox in teaching, but that in many instances he demonstrated originality of thought. This is to refute those who have claimed that he depended almost entirely, for method and content, on Abelard and other theologians of the period. Only in areas not then clearly defined by the Church did he occasionally advance opinions which would be unacceptable today. The life and works of Pullen should be of interest to the student of intellectual history, for he stood at the threshold of the great age of mediaeval scholastic theology. He was a contemporary of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugh of St. Victor, and Peter Lombard, and an opponent of Abelard and Gilbert Porreta. In his works can be found the beginnings of that marriage between authority and reason which reached its fruition in the *Summa theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas. Father Courtney has done a valuable service in examining and evaluating the teachings of this great theologian. We await now a definitive biography which will place Cardinal Pullen in his times and show the influence he had on them. (FRANCIS L. RYAN)

DICKINSON, J. C. *The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. xi, 142.)

I was surprised to find that there was no heading under "Walsingham" in the *Encyclopedia Brittanica,* for the shrine of our Lady at Walsingham in Norfolk had in the Middle Ages some such importance to Englishmen as Compostela had for Spaniards. Erasmus said, with some exaggeration, that in his day practically every Englishman went there once a year. Yet I hesitate to attribute the omission to any belated spirit of no-popery. I believe that the reason it was left out was that until recently there was very little of the kind of information available about Walsingham such as was suitable to an encyclopedia.

This book gives us the information and it is very welcome. The author has ferreted out a great many facts about Walsingham that were hard to find. Since the annals of the shrine had been destroyed when the buildings of it were razed in 1538, he had to investigate documents that mentioned the shrine only incidentally such as "police-records," wills, and expense accounts of kings. These data, collected in Part I of the book, make that part very readable for they set the shrine in its political and social context. It strikes the imagination to read how a pilgrim to it became mixed up in a murder case, and of how King Henry VIII made a pilgrimage barefoot to Walsingham when he was hoping for a male heir. The second part, which is archaeological, is just as thorough, but it is less dramatic and very technical.

The conclusions are very sane. A widow Richelde founded the shrine halfway through the twelfth century. It was given to Augustinian Canons who maintained it until its dissolution. It was never especially rich in lands, but received annually a large income in alms. Pilgrims thronged to it, nobles with trains of a hundred knights. King Edward I visited it a dozen times. The nameless pilgrims came from all over England and from the Lowlands. It certainly had a statue of our Lady, but the magnet of the pilgrimage was not the statue but the original chapel which purported to be a replica of our Lady's house at Nazareth, the account of which had probably been brought back to Norfolk by Richelde's crusading son. That this house was the shrine's true treasure is attested by the fact that it was never rebuilt or added to. It was conserved priceless within a larger church as was the chapel of the Portiuncula at Assisi.

As everyone knows, the Catholics of England have resumed their pilgrimages to Walsingham, their goal being the so-called Slipper Chapel which is in Catholic hands. The Anglicans have restored a statue to our Lady of Walsingham in a chapel nearer the shrine that belongs to them. (DANIEL SARGENT)

FELICI, ICILIO. *Father to the Immigrants. The Life of John Baptist Scalabrini.* Translated by Carol della Chiesa. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1955. Pp. viii, 248. $3.00.)

This biography outlines briefly the career and achievements of the Bishop of Piacenza, John Baptist Scalabrini (1839-1905). It includes a short account of the congregation which he founded, the Pious Society of the Missionaries of St. Charles or Scalabrinian Fathers. Both in these pages and in the apostolic constitution *On the Care of Immigrants (Exsul familia),* of August 1, 1952, Bishop Scalabrini stands out as a pioneer social thinker of primary importance, but especially as a thinker who took, and inspired, action to solve the vexing problems connected with Italian emigration at the turn of the century. His thought and work are still effective.

However, the portrait sketched in this biography does not approach the stature of the man himself. The boast that the author wrote this book ". . . spontaneously, without so much as changing a word . . ." is obviously true. Spontaneous writing frequently results in the substitution of generalities for particular information. On numerous occasions the author arouses the reader's curiosity and then fails to satisfy it with the pertinent detail. The translation is clearly from the Italian and will cause some confusion to the reader unacquainted with that language. The proofreader missed "mass" the morning he read this book (p. 44). He also overlooked "gretted" (p. 178), the sense distorting commas around the word "dynamic" (p. 46), and the cryptic paragraph involving the year 1821 (p. 26).

Both Bishop Scalabrini and the Pious Society of the Missionaries of St. Charles are worthy of a more careful presentation of their outstanding achievements. (JOHN E. WRIGLEY)

MAYNARD, THEODORE. *Bloody Mary.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1955. Pp. viii, 297. $4.95.)

The reading public, both the scholar and the popular reader, will in all likelihood give a different evaluation of this well-written biography of a much written about person. The popular reader will be quite pleased with it; he may even be enthusiastic. It reads well, discusses all the problems which one encounters in Mary's life, and gives correct interpretations of controversial issues. On the other hand, the scholar may not share this enthusiasm. Maynard follows in the footsteps of Belloc, viz., his information may be correct but he fails to inform the reader as to where he obtained the data. E.g., we find this statement: "Henry was confident that there would be no difficulty, for though the doctrine of the Church regarding marriage was then just what it is today, some details had not been clearly defined and it was notorious that powerfully placed personages in the middle ages could occasionally get what they wanted from diocesan tribunals by pulling the right wires" (p. 30). Historians of this period would have no difficulty accepting this statement. But what about less informed people? Would it not be better to do what Constant did in his *Reformation in England,* viz., cite other instances of special consideration being given to privileged persons (p. 53)? Most historians will probably accept most of the conclusions of Maynard. He is extremely well informed, but it would be more according to form if he recited chapter and verse. In spite of this defect, I urgently recommend the reading of this book to all: scholar and popular reader alike. (EDWARD V. CARDINAL)

REIDY, MAURICE F., S.J. *Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, Jacobean Court Preacher. A Study in Early Seventeenth-Century Religious Thought.* (Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1955. Pp. xiii, 237. $3.50.)

Though the first part of the title suggests a biography, Father Reidy did not undertake to write one. His book deserves appraisal in terms of the prefatory objective, an analysis of Andrewes' sermons that would show what he preached "on the subject of Christian doctrine, Christian ascetical practice, and the relation that exists between the two." Because such a study had never before been done, because Andrewes thought his sermons his chief work, and because they constitute nearly one-half Andrewes' published writings, there appeared sufficient justification for the study. Three preliminary chapters present biographical information and describe Andrewes' preaching. The next five chapters discuss sermons on the Anglican Church, redemption, the supernatural, on moral and ascetical beliefs based logically upon Andrewes' "solid doctrinal foundation," and upon political theory. The conclusion summarizes adequately, but attempts only briefly to assess Andrewes' impact upon his contemporaries and upon later generations.

In his clear and simple analysis Father Reidy has not only fulfilled his objective but has furnished the reader with some valuable insights. Besides the "sweet reasonableness" that Gardiner and others have emphasized, this book reveals other aspects of Andrewes' character and personality. His political theory appears as an uncomplicated form of divine right derived from Scripture. Most important, I think, the study uncovers the difficulties Andrewes, as a leading Anglican yet in this respect a typical one, faced. Unable to depart from history, Christian tradition, the fathers, and the schoolmen, Andrewes, of course, despised what he called the "disease" of his age, private interpretation, which was often nothing more than the play of uninstructed "imagination." Consequently he faced the task of helping the Anglican Church discover its own "personality and character," and this he attempted to do in his sermons. (CARL B. CONE)

SIMPSON, ALAN. *Puritanism in Old and New England.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 126. $3.00.)

During the 1920's Rolin Kirby, the cartoonist for the New York *Herald-Tribune,* perhaps, did more to implant a false image of the Puritans in the American mind than any other single author. How well we remember the cadaverous bony figure with the Cassian "lean and hungry look," with the well-worn umbrella, ill-fitting clothes, topped off with the stovepipe hat. This nightmarish image became a symbol of everything "anti" and those "blue-nosed" founding fathers of New England who were Puritans became the prototype of everything gloomy, forbidding, and funereal. Mr. Simpson's book is not a volume of cartoons—in fact, there are no pictures included, but to this reviewer he has gone almost all the way to lay to rest the popular misconception so graphically penned by Kirby. This work, clear, pithy, and concise, makes excellent reading even to those, like the reviewer, who certainly began its perusal with the well accustomed "chip on the shoulder." Mr. Simpson, with few changes, has produced an excellent expose of the "why and wherefore of the Puritan ethos" in book form, which originated in six lectures given in the spring of 1954 under the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation at the University of Chicago.

If it be not too amiss to use the metaphor of the musical world, it is almost impossible on reading through these pages—whether the Puritans are chopping down the forest in the Massachusetts Bay Colony or the head of Charles I—not to be impressed by the base notes which always seem to strike the chords of "sincere-pride"—for this reviewer was totally unable even to suspect that these sturdy souls were approximating the divine Master's warning of "being meek and humble of heart." Though in agreement with Mr. Simpson's four conclusions on the solid and positive contributions that the Puritans made to both the English and American social and political structures (pp. 111-114), I believe one cannot fail to catch the overtones as of a throbbing melody, that these goals were accomplished by the "thrusts" heavily saturated with the cadenzas of "we are always right, you must always be wrong"—the "you" referring to Anglicans, Presbyterians, Quakers, Levellers, Williamites, and Catholics; actually, just about anybody. The reviewer was surprised to find that Mr. Simpson used the familiar albeit boring cliché about "The Puritan tradition" with its everlasting insistence that "only God is worthy of worship," which is one assurance among Anglo-Saxon peoples that "the State has no claim to worship" (p. 112). Really, cannot we have a surcease from this tiresome use of the Anglo-Saxons this or the Anglo-Saxons that, whether it be about their absolute corner on justice or, as in this volume, on non-worship of the state? Is it Anglo-Saxon?

This book is highly recommended to Catholic readers if for no other reason than the remarks of Perry Miller of Harvard that it is "sane, witty, well balanced . . . as fresh and readable as a man can make it," but maybe as an added fillip, because it will give the reader a more complete appreciation—in these days of confusion—of our debt to the "Puritan Fathers." (L. BERKELEY KINES)

SMELSER, MARSHALL and HARRY W KIRWIN. *Conceived in Liberty. The History of the United States.* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1955. Pp. 768. $7.50, trade edition; $4.48 to students; $3.36 to schools.)

It is to be hoped that this text will be found in every Catholic high school. In the opinion of the reviewer, who has experimented with textbooks for eighteen years, it is the soundest Catholic textbook to appear since Richard J. Purcell's *The American Nation* (New York, 1929). The format is attractive and there is an abundance of maps, of well-chosen illustrations, charts, and diagrams, a concise summary of important events at the beginning of each unit, project reviews, selected readings, listings of important American events correlated with important world events. In particular, the Catholic history of the nation is excellently integrated and it represents a statement of facts, not special pleading.

There are some faults which future editions should correct: colors of maps are shadings of one color, which makes it difficult to distinguish one side from the other. The colors of the 1856 election are the reverse of the legend (p. 310). The selected readings are not inspiring; few listings of this kind have ever been as comprehensive as those of Muzzey's *A History of Our Country* (New York, 1943). The arrangements and division are good, but the first sixty-two pages are purely introductory to the actual matter at hand, viz., colonial history. It is a great pity that 150 years of colonial history are compressed between pages 63-117. At this level of writing, American history should begin at 1607 not 1492, and colonial history ought not to be taken for granted.

There is no field of history more thoroughly covered by authors and publishers than the field of American history; yet from the viewpoint of American Catholics, *Conceived in Liberty* is a real contribution. It is seriously recommended to the consideration of every pastor and high school principal. (JOHN J. TIERNEY)

TALBOT, C. H. (Ed.). *Sermones inediti B. Aelred: abbatis Rievallensis.* [Series scriptorum S. Ordinis Cisterciensis, Vol. 1.] (Rome: apud curiam generalem sacri Ordiniis Cisterciensis. 1952. Pp. 191.)

For a number of years Dr. Talbot has been working on St. Aelred and the early Cistercian movement in England. Aelred has a most attractive personality, and those who make his acquaintance are likely to add him to their group of particular friends among the saints. But saints who lived eight centuries ago are in danger of being overlooked. Most of his writings were published in the seveneenth and nineteenth centuries, but a few important ones remained in manuscript until Dr. Talbot edited two of them in 1952: the *De Anima,* and the present collection of sermons. Four manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries supply these twenty-six sermons on various seasons and feasts of the liturgical year which again exemplify Aelred's manly piety. The introductory essay contains a very good treatment of the saint as an abbot, a preacher, and an author. It is to be hoped that more readers of our day will come to know Aelred through biographical sketches such as those by Bede Jarrett, O.P., in *The English Way,* and James Brodrick, S.J., in *A Procession of Saints,* and then advance to the saint's own writings. Then, if they can read Latin, they will be grateful to Dr. Talbot for this scholarly edition. (CARLETON M. SAGE)

VALENTINE, FERDINAND, O.P. *Father Vincent McNabb, O.P. The Portrait of a Great Dominican.* (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press. 1955. Pp. vii, 418. $4.00.)

In future years, maybe, some detached student will write a "life" of Vincent McNabb. It will have about it that clinical quality which can only come when you are years away from your subject. But, one feels, it may well be a lifeless thing. For those of us who knew Vincent McNabb, and the London of his day, Father Valentine's semi-official biography is much more welcome.

Father Valentine, of course, is not impartial at all. How could he be? He shared a community life with McNabb and suffered the pains of those who have to put up with a saint in the making. God alone, as Chesterton said, is impartial. There is a sort of blasphemy about trying to know all that can be known or say all that can be said of the inner motives of a man. Therefore, one is glad of Father Valentine's diffidence. His book is tentative and provisional, which is very proper. At the same time, however, he suggests, by his insistence on the phrase "the enigma of McNabb," an element of the phoney. This is unfortunate and, perhaps, unfair.

All his life McNabb was trying to make a saint out of himself. It was a rugged self, an irascible material. Men may say that his spiritual strategy was spectacular and odd. They may criticize his disconcerting habit of praying for you there and then, e.g., on railway stations, or they may feel uncomfortable at his too-public penances. They cannot doubt his aims. Was he really an enigma at all? Surely there is always a conflict between a man's natural self and his ideals. There must always be battles in which the issue is doubtful; half-conquests and, at times, stalemates. That is not to say, however, that a man such as Vincent McNabb is an enigma.

I saw him once and heard him. It was in the spring of 1943. He knelt before us at a great meeting of Catholic parents who had gathered in London to protest against the education act before Parliament. "Who am I," he said, "an old man, a dying friar, to tell Catholic parents their duty?" Characteristically, he apologized for being there at all. But the parents present can never forget him, or his speech. An uncongenial figure he seemed in his tattered habit and big boots. He was dead in five weeks.

Father Valentine does not suggest it but, perhaps, this unusual man was raised up to be a challenge to the profane humanism of pre-war London. Certainly, London loved him for all that he attacked its values with such severity. Above all the poor loved him and still live by what he taught them. Powerful as he was intellectually, he has left no mark on the intellectual life of his day. I suspect that he had long abandoned purely human means in trying to fight the evils which he saw so clearly. As Belloc wrote, "the most remarkable aspect of his character was holiness." One is grateful for Father Valentine's book which refreshes the popular memory of this exceptionally holy man. (MICHAEL O'DWYER)

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Gutton, Francis. *L'ordre de Calatrava. La chevalerie militaire en Espagne,* (Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1955. Pp. 240, 31 planches, 3 maps. Fr. 2,000.)

Hallack, Cecily. *The Adventure of the Amethyst.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1956. Pp. xi, 394. $3.75.)

Hänggi, Anton. *Der Kirchenhistoriker Natalis Alexander (1639-1724).* (Freiburg/Schweiz: Universitätsverlag. 1955. Pp. xxvii, 417. Fr. 17.70. DM 17.—.)

Healy, Sister Emma Thérèse. *Woman According to Saint Bonaventure.* (Erie, Pa.: Villa Maria College. 1956. Pp. x, 275. $5.00.)

Horgan, Paul. *Humble Powers.* (Garden City: Image Books. 1956. Pp. 196. $.65.)

Hutton, Edward. *Siena and Southern Tuscany.* (London: Hollis & Carter. 1955. New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1956. Pp. xiii, 274. $4.50.) In this volume, with its thirty-three beautiful photographs, the Tuscan towns that have charmed men for centuries are described by one who has made their history a specialty, the man who was chosen in World War II by the British Foreign Office to compile the list of the monuments in Italy to be protected by the allied armies in their invasion of 1943.

Janin, R. *Eglises orientales et rites orientaux.* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané. 1956. Pp. 548, plus pictures. Fr. 1,200.) This is the fourth edition revised.

Johnson, Samuel. *Lives of the English Poets.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1955. Pp. xiv, 400. $1.25.) The introduction to this volume of the new paper-back series by Regnery has been written by Professor Warren L. Fleischauer of Michigan State University.

Jones, Francis. *The Holy Wells of Wales.* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1954. Pp. xxi, 226. 12/6.)

Kennedy, John S. *Light on the Mountain. The Story of LaSalette.* (Garden City: Image Books. 1956. Pp. 195. $.65.)

Lanning, John Tate. *The University in the Kingdom of Guatemala.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1955. Pp. xviii, 331. $5.75.)

Lockmiller, David A. *Enoch H. Crowder: Soldier, Lawyer and Statesman.* Columbia: University of Missouri Studies. 1955. Pp. 286. $5.00.) This is a documented biography by the president of the University of Chattanooga and is Volume XXVII in the series.

Lord, Daniel A., S.J. *Played by Ear. The Autobiography of Daniel A. Lord, S.J.* Introduction by R. Bakewell Morrison, S.J. (Chicago: Loyola University Press; Garden City: Hanover House. 1956. Pp. xiii, 398. $4.00.) This volume is the life story of a dynamic American Jesuit whose talents and varied activities carried him all over the land and into the hearts of thousands of Catholic youth.

Lorié, L. Th. A., S.J. *Spiritual Terminology in the Latin Translations of the Vita Antonii with Reference to Fourth and Fifth Century Monastic Literature.* (Nijmegen: Dekker & van de Vegt N.V. 1955. Pp. xv, 180. F. 8.90.)

Lucas, Henry S. *Dutch Immigrant Memoirs and Related Writings.* Two volumes. (Assen, Holland: Van Gorcum and Co.; Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1956. Pp. 514, 479. $15.00 for two.)

Machiavelli, Niccolò. *The Ruler. A Modern Translation of Il Principe.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1955. Pp. xxiv, 132. $.85.) This volume of Regnery's paper-back series carries an introduction by A. Robert Caponigri of the University of Notre Dame.

Maloney, Vincent B., S.S.E. and Jeremiah K. Durrick. *Saint Michael's Through the Years.* (Winooski Park: St. Michael's College. 1955. Pp. 104.) This is an attractive illustrated brochure by two members of the faculty to commemorate the golden jubilee of St. Michael's College.

Manheim, Ralph and R. F. C. Hull (Translators). *The Mysteries. Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks.* (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc. 1955. Pp. xvi, 476. $5.00.) This is Volume II of a series of lectures chosen from those delivered annually at the Eranos meetings at Ascoua, Switzerland. It contains thirteen papers by different authors. Among the authors are Jean de Menasce, O.P., formerly professor of ancient Iranian religion in the Ecole des Hautes-Etudes, and Hugo Rahner, S.J., professor of church history in the University of Innsbruck.

Mathew, David. *Scotland under Charles I.* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode Ltd. 1955. Pp. 320. 30s. net.)

Maximus, Saint. *The Ascetic Life. The Four Centuries on Charity.* Translated by Polycarp Sherwood, O.S.B. (Westminster: Newman Press; London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1955. Pp. viii, 284. $3.25.) This volume is No. 21 of the Ancient Christian Writers series. Dom Sherwood is professor of patrology in the Pontifical Institute of St. Anselm at Rome.

Mennonite Encyclopedia. Vol. I. *A-C.* (Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House. 1955. Pp. xvi, 749, 47. $10.00.) The first of a four-volume comprehensive survey of Anabaptism-Mennonitism covering its history, faith, life, and culture.

Merton, Thomas. *The Sign of Jonas.* (Garden City: Image Books. 1956. Pp. 352. $.95.)

Meyer, Henry Cord. *Mitteleuropa in German Thought and Action, 1815-1945.* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1955. Pp. xv, 378. 23,75 guilders.)

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Mitchell, Walter and the Carisbrooke Dominicans (Translators). *Christian Asceticism and Modern Man.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. xi, 262. $6.00.) Sixteen essays by almost as many authors treating asceticism historically in the Church, as well as from the modern scientific approach of anthropology and psychiatry.

Morelli, Emilia. *Le lettere di Benedetto XIV al Card. de Tencin. Dai testi originali. I. 1740-1747.* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura. 1955. Pp. xi, 501.)

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Moscow's European Satellites. (Washington: Department of State. 1955. Pp. 52. $2.25.)

Nietzsche, Friedrich. *Beyond Good and Evil.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1955. Pp. xiv, 241. $.95.) This volume was translated by Marianne Cowan who also contributes an introduction.

O'Brien, John A. *Happy Marriage. Guidance Before and After.* (Garden City: Hanover House. 1956. Pp. 313. $3.50.)

Pernoud, Régine. *The Retrial of Joan of Arc. The Evidence at the Trial for Her Rehabilitation, 1450-1456.* Translated by J. M. Cohen. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. 1955. Pp. xiii, 264. $4.75.)

Pourrat, Pierre, S.S. *Christian Spirituality. Later Developments.* Vol. IV. Part II. *From Jansenism to Modern Times.* Translated by Donald Attwater. (Westminster: Newman Press. 1955. Pp. 549. $6.00.)

Prasad, Rajendra. *At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. vii, 350, index. $6.00.) Dr. Prasad is President of the Indian Republic.

Pritchard, John Paul. *Criticism in America. An Account of the Development of Critical Techniques from the Early Period of the Republic to the Middle Years of the Twentieth Century.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1956. Pp. x, 325. $5.00.)

Reynolds, E. E. *Saint John Fisher.* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1956. Pp. xiv, 310. $6.00.)

Riegel, Robert E. *America Moves West.* (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1956. Pp. xi, 659. $5.75.) The author states in the preface to this third edition that the changes made since the edition of 1947 consist of correction of a few errors, additional material embodying research of the past decade, a new chapter on the Pacific Coast, and a complete redoing of the reading list.

Robichon, Clement and Alexandre Varille. *Eternal Egypt.* Translated by Laetitia Gifford. (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc. 1955. Pp. xv, 144 pictures. $6.00.) A volume containing 144 modern photographs of ancient ruins and sites in Egypt with notes.

Roeder, Helen. *Saints and Their Attributes. With a Guide to Localities and Patronage.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1956. Pp. xxviii, 391. $4.00.) The compiler has given in the case of each saint the rank, year of death, date of the feast day, places of association, the patronages, and the most frequent depiction. The volume has a separate index of the saints, the patronages, and the localities.

Sachse, William L. *The Colonial American in Britain.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 290. $5.50.)

Sattler, Henry V., C.SS.R. *Parents, Children and the Facts of Life.* (Garden City: Image Books. 1956. Pp. 237. $.65.)

Saunders, Jason Lewis. *Justus Lipsius. The Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism.* (New York: Liberal Arts Press. 1955. Pp. xviii, 228. $4.50.) An analysis of the sixteenth-century Flemish humanist by an assistant professor of philosophy in the University of North Carolina.

Scantlebury, Robert E. (Ed.). *Hampshire Registers.* Vol. IV. *The Registers of Gosport and Portsea.* (London: Catholic Record Society. 1955. Pp. 330.) Volume XLIX of this important series of source materials in English Catholic history contains the registers of Gosport and Portsea edited by Canon Scantlebury.

Schmaus, Michael. *Katholische Dogmatik.* Band V. *Mariologie.* (Munchen: Max Hueber. 1955. Pp. 416. Geb. DM 19,80.) Better evidence could not be had of the important place of Mary in modern theology than this profound and penetrating study of the great Marian doctrines. The documentation, especially in patristic and mediaeval theology, is thorough. This fifth volume crowns Schmaus' set of dogmatic treatises; with *Die Kirche,* Volume III, 1, promised for publication in 1956, the series will be complete.

Schofield, William G. *Seek for a Hero.* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1956. Pp. viii, 309. $3.95.)

Schultz, Howard. *Milton and Forbidden Knowledge.* (New York: Modern Language Association of America. 1955. Pp. vii, 309.) The author of this scholarly work modestly states that his volume "may advance a bit the history of ideas" and "may assist the reading of Milton." The sixty-two pages of notes attest the author's thorough research and the nine-page index will lighten the burden of readers who wish to track down special points.

Sheen, Fulton J. *Thoughts for Daily Living.* (New York: Garden City Books. 1956. Pp. 190. $2.00.)

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Smit, M. C. *Het Goddelijk Geheim in de Geschiedenis.* (Kampen: J. H. Kok, N.V. 1955. Pp. 34. F. 1.25.)

Stauffer, Ethelbert. *Christ and the Caesars. Historical Sketches.* Translated by K. and R. Gregor Smith. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1955. Pp. 293. $4.50.) Sixteen brief essays on various aspects of the Church-State conflict of the Roman world from Julius Caesar to Constantine with chronological tables. The author has been professor of New Testament in the University of Erlangen since 1949.

Sullivan, William A. *The Industrial Worker in Pennsylvania, 1800-1840.* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1955. Pp. vii, 253. $3.25.)

Thomas Aquinas, Saint. *On the Truth of the Catholic Faith. Summa Contra Gentiles.* Book II. *Creation.* Translated by James F. Anderson. (Garden City: Hanover House. 1956. Pp. 351. $2.50; Garden City: Image Books. 1956. Pp. 351. $.95.)

Thomas, John L., S.J. *The American Catholic Family.* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1956. Pp. xii, 471. $7.65.) A long overdue sociological study of the Catholic family by a priest-population expert. Based on research done in the Archdiocese of Chicago, the book analyzes the present status of Catholic family life in the United Sttaes. It offers constructive ideas to priests and laity for developing a worthwhile family life program in the future.

Toal, M. F. (Translator and Ed.). *Patristic Homilies on the Gospels.* Vol. I. *From the First Sunday of Advent to Quinquagesima.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1955. Pp. xiii, 503. $7.50.)

Walker, Franklin A. *Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada.* (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd. 1955. Pp. xii, 331. $3.00.)

Waugh, Evelyn. *Edmund Campion. Jesuit and Martyr.* (Garden City: Image Books. 1956. Pp. 196. $.65.)